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THE
HISTORY OF OUR OWN TIMES
IN
SOUTH AFRICA.

VOL. III.
1889—1898.

BY THE
HONOURABLE ALEXANDER WILMOT, K.S.G., Etc.,
MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE;
AUTHOR OF
"THE STORY OF THE EXPANSION OF SOUTH AFRICA," ETC.



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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

FROM 1872 to 1889 the history of South Africa is that of quick development based upon great mineral discoveries in Kimberley, the Transvaal, and Rhodesia—all now united to the Ports of the Cape Colony and Natal by means of railways. The bond of federation must follow.

Within the last quarter of a century the Afrikaner Bond has risen, reached its apogee, and begun to wane. Opportunism received its death-blow when Jameson rode from Petsani to Johannesburg, and there are now, consequently, only two political parties in South Africa—those of the “Progressives” with Mr. Rhodes, and “The Bond” secretly controlled by Mr. Hofmeyr.

As in the case of a picture, so in that of a history, perspective is absolutely necessary. With abundant materials—indeed an *embarras des richesses*—it is

nevertheless felt that there is great fear of partiality being even unconsciously exercised, when events are too near to permit us to see them in that clear unprejudiced light which lapse of time alone furnishes. Nevertheless a fair and correct record has been attempted. Certainly naught has been set down in malice, and every effort has been made to rise above party views, and to tell the truth. This work has necessitated much labour and pioneer effort, and the writer trusts that his efforts will be appreciated by the generous public whom he endeavours to serve.

A. W.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, CAPETOWN,
December 8, 1898.

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THE HISTORY OF OUR OWN TIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPE COLONY.

1889—1891.

THE saying of Bishop Moran of Grahamstown, that “responsible government would mean the plunder of the Colony,” was in some respects verified. As a rule human institutions possess disadvantages, and it was scarcely probable that responsible government in the Cape Colony would form an exception. It certainly did not so far as its fiscal policy and railway construction were concerned. By degrees political influence passed into the hands of the farmers of Dutch extraction, who solidified their power by means of an organization known as the Afrikaner Bond. Eventually no ministry could be formed without its assistance, and no political power could subsist without its patronage and aid. Sir Gordon Sprigg, as well as Sir Thomas Upington, counted heads in both Houses of Parliament, and were guided in their policy by the result. They

were opportunists, of course ; but, no doubt, considered that, under the circumstances, opportunism and wisdom were synonymous.

The result of Bond and farming influence on fiscal policy became by degrees so paramount that bread stuffs were taxed heavily, to assist the growers of wheat, while the excise was entirely removed from brandy to help the "Pot still" distillers of the Western districts. Bread became more than twice as dear as in London ; and it can be truly said that, if the loaf of the poor man had been raised to such a price by taxation in any of the large towns of Europe, bread riots would have been the result. As sixty per cent. of the crime of the country was caused by the sale of brandy, the taxpayer had a reasonable right to be recouped by means of an excise. This, however, was denied, on the grounds that the farmer paid it, and that it was against the principles of sound political economy to lay any burden on the productions of a country ; besides, the troublesome manner of collecting the impost made it insufferable. In reply it was pointed out that the consumer paid every farthing of the tax, and that care would be taken to free its future collection from the irksomeness complained of. All was in vain. The very word "Excise" became as a red rag to a bull in the eyes of the Western Afrikaner, not in reality because he did not believe that the consumer paid the tax, but because he knew full well that a heavy excise would enormously decrease the sale of brandy among his principal customers—the aboriginal natives.*

* Of the Afrikaner Bond it was said, "Cheap brandy, dear bread, and free scab became the chief planks of its platform." This, however,

The Customs Union Conference,* which met in Bloemfontein during 1888, presented its report, and by Act No. 1 of 1889 of the Cape Parliament, and Ordinance No. 9 of 1889 of the Orange Free State Raad, its provisions came into effect in these countries, as well, shortly afterwards, in British Bechuanaland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Basutoland. It was stipulated that any civilized State in South Africa might be admitted to the Union after the expiration of six months from the receipt by the Governor of a request for admission. Of the duties collected by the Colony on Free State and Basutoland goods, only one-fourth was received by the Cape Government. Natal, very wisely, would have nothing to do with this agreement, not only because of its protective character, but in sympathy with the South African Republic, whose commercial friend and railway transport purveyor it earnestly desired to become.

It was rather boastfully stated that the Customs Union Convention would lay the foundation-stone of the temple of South African Union. Certainly this beginning of such a desirable edifice was most lamentable. It perpetuated injustice, and inflicted on the people subject to it a very badly considered

was scarcely a fair statement so far as "scab" was concerned. There was some vacillation about the Scab Act, as a Permissive Bill was at one time approved. Eventually, a majority opposed the existing law. So far as "Poor Whites" are concerned, great efforts were made to bring education within their reach; and in 1895 a Bill, introduced by Mr. Botha into the Legislative Council, providing for assistance being given to destitute children, passed into law.

* The members of this Conference were—from the Cape Colony, Messrs. Sprigg, Hofmeyr, and Blaine, the last-named of whom was knighted for his services; from Natal, Sir W. Gallway with Messrs. Binns and Greenacre; from the Orange Free State, Messrs. Reitz, Fraser, and Fischer.

tariff bristling with errors and anachronisms.* The import duty on flour was fixed at five shillings per hundred pounds, and on corn and grain at two shillings per hundred pounds. Imported spirits were to pay ten shillings and sixpence per gallon; no excise was levied on distillations from the grape, and a number of enumerated articles were charged in a haphazard way. On "goods not above described" the heavy *ad valorem* duty of twelve per cent. was levied.

In another direction a responsible system of government plundered the country by means of the establishment of political railways. In 1873, when the lines were taken over by the Government, they only extended to a distance of sixty-three miles, but subsequently were continued over the high mountains of Hex River, as well as across the barren plains of the Karoo, to Beaufort West. The diamond mines at Kimberley drew them up eventually thither, but in the mean time lines nearly parallel had been made from Port Elizabeth to Cradock, and from Port Elizabeth to Graaff-Reinet.†

In 1889 there was a great controversy about the

* Evidently no Customs Assessor was present who could guide the members of the Convention. There was no differential duty, as there should have been, on ready-made clothing imported and the cloth from which it was made. As a specimen of haphazard absurdity, we may quote that "turmeric" used in a Colonial manufacture, and not produced in the Colony, was charged £1 5s. per 100 lbs. Numerous anachronisms and mistakes were pointed out by Mr. Overbeek to the Legislative Council Committee on Colonial Industries. The effect of the Tariff was to make the cost of living dear, while the differential duty on flour and wheat immensely enriched wealthy milling Companies. Taking the average price of flour in Capetown to be 16s. 2d. per 100 lbs., and the average price of wheat to be 10s. 2d. per 100 lbs., it will be seen that the millers have thus a margin of 6s. per 100 lbs.—whereas in Europe and the United States the difference between the price of flour and wheat is generally only 1s. 6d. per 100 lbs.

† Any one looking at a map will see that these two northern lines from Port Elizabeth mean political jobs or plunder.

respective merits of two great railway lines which were both ultimately constructed—one from Kimberley over the Vaal River, and through Bechuana-land *viâ* Vryburg, and the other from a junction at Naauwpoort, on the Midland Line, *viâ* Norval's Pont to Bloemfontein. It was said that the railway would never be extended from the capital of the Orange Free State to the South African Republic, but eventually adequate arguments, partly connected with Swaziland, conquered the prejudices of the Transvaal. Mr. Rhodes declared, in 1889, that although the Cape Parliament resolved that they should delay their advance, and only build a line *viâ* the Free State to the Transvaal, yet, through the impudence of one man, there was going to be a route from the Cape Colony, *viâ* Kimberley, to the interior. In the mean time the line to Bloemfontein was proceeded with, and when it was opened to that town, in 1890, it was again announced that the temple of the brotherhood of Southern Africa was in course of construction. Sir Gordon Sprigg, ever vigilantly alert where the interests of East London were concerned, held a conference with President Reitz at Norval's Pont, in 1889, with respect to a Bethulie junction giving the Eastern line an opportunity of coming into the trunk system of railways. We will find that by means of persistence the object in view was ultimately effected, and that at Springfontein on the Orange Free State railway the tributary streams from the three ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and East London were eventually united.

The Session of 1889 in the Cape Parliament was disappointing, so far as railway extension is

concerned. There was, of course, much contentious debate, and as nearly every supporter of the Government had an "axe to grind," the support of his particular railway was naturally regarded as the evident duty of the Cabinet, both as a recognition of the intrinsic merits of the line, and as a reward due to the member who promoted it. The Speaker decided that no proposal could be discussed in a concrete form without the approval of Government ; and the Premier would not, of course, submit any lines for discussion beyond those embraced in his own scheme, which provided for a railway from Kalk Bay to Simonstown, purchase of Central (Worcester to Ashton) and Kowie (Grahamstown to Port Alfred) Railways, as well as the Orange Free State extension. All fell through except the first and last.

Sir David Tennant was elected Speaker, and the principal subject for consideration was the Customs Union Bill, which was the outcome of two Conferences. Members were informed that the slightest alteration in the Tariff could not be permitted, and thus criticism was disarmed, and rendered nugatory. The tax on imports was so heavy as to average from seventeen to eighteen per cent. The subject of an Excise tax was taken into consideration, for the purpose, apparently, of showing how strong a parliamentary majority was opposed to it.*

The conservative element was too powerful to allow a Ballot Bill introduced by Mr. Douglass

* Those in favour of the Excise in the House of Assembly were Sir T. Scanlen, Messrs. Douglass, Fuller, Hutton, Innes, Jones, Lord, Mackay, Orsmond, Sauer, Smith, Vincent, Warren, Weiner, Laing, and Lewis. It is significant that scarcely one of these names is Dutch. The Bond had conquered.

to become law, and a portion of the session was occupied in passing, without sufficient consideration, a strange, conglomerate, badly digested measure, intended to consolidate the law affecting Divisional Councils. These bodies were originally instituted in each fiscal division for the purpose of managing branch roads, with the power of levying rates and drawing Toll revenues. Eventually the main roads were put under their direction, with most lamentable results. In fact, by means of their mal-administration, the veins and arteries of commerce in the Cape Colony are in a deplorable condition, and a constant subject of complaint. In 1889 the property subject to Divisional Council taxation was valued at £35,000,000, and it is noticeable that rates vary from one-eighth of a penny in the pound to a penny half-penny in the pound, and that some poor divisions pay much more proportionately than rich ones. Out of £116,000 collected by Divisional Councils in 1889, only £26,000 pounds were spent on main roads, and the amount of robbery and jobbery revealed in the Auditor-General's reports shows that the little juntas of the Cape Colony are by no means above reproach. The system itself is bad, but has gone on year after year, continually complained about, but never reformed; and the change eventually carried will probably take the shape of putting all main highways under the management of the General Government, while leaving branch roads in charge of Divisional Councils, according to their original institution.*

* More than seventy Divisional Councils, with more than seventy Boards, staffs of officers, rents, office expenses, etc., necessarily means a very expensive administration. As road management is a branch of civil engineering, it is evidently ridiculous to put it into the hands of

Sir Hercules Robinson left the Colony on leave in May, 1889, and previous to his departure made a remarkable speech at a public dinner given in his honour. His Excellency declared that, in his opinion, there was no permanent place in South Africa for direct Imperial rule, and that it was impossible to say whether Colonialism or Republicanism would win the day. "British Colonialism, however," he said, "was handicapped in the race by the well-meant but mistaken interference of irresponsible and ill-informed persons in England." Sir Hercules Robinson left South Africa with a good record and an unblemished name—popular with the mass of the people, and filled with the courage of his opinions. As is usual in such cases, the officer commanding the troops took the reins of government, temporarily, and so well did General Smyth * perform his comparatively easy duties that, at their conclusion, he was honoured by a great reception in the Houses of Parliament, and a complimentary address.

Sir Henry Loch, the new Governor and High Commissioner, arrived in Cape Town from Australia,† on the 13th of December, 1889, and attended a banquet

persons who really know little or nothing about it. Inspections by perfectly incompetent persons are regularly charged for. So far as Tolls are concerned, many of them cost from one quarter to three-fourths of the total amount collected, so that the tax is bad in principle, in consequence of the nett receipts being very disproportionate to the gross earnings. Main roads for the entire Colony should not be under local Boards, as in many cases a main road is of comparatively no interest to the people of a Division through which it passes, and is therefore neglected.

* Shortly after his return to England the appointment of Governor of Malta was given to General Smyth.

† He was transferred to the Cape Colony from being Governor of Victoria, and found a considerable difference between his luxurious surroundings at Melbourne, and those at Government House, Cape Town. He came direct from Australia, in the steamer *Damascus*.

given in his honour on the 21st of the same month, when he expressed a conviction that Imperial and Colonial interests are inseparably connected, and that we are strong by virtue of the connection, and in proportion to its strength. The new Administrator was one of those typical Englishmen, thoroughly loyal to the Crown, and fully determined that the British nation shall be the paramount power in Southern Africa. As a means to that end, he was not perhaps quite as conciliatory as his predecessor to the powerful majority which was then ruling the Cape Colony, by means of the organization of "The Bond." He saw clearly enough that free communication with the North must be kept open, and that the progress of the Chartered Company should be assisted. It is very significant at this time that General Carington, an Imperial officer detached for South African purposes, declared publicly, that it was the intention of the Imperial Government to preserve the integrity of Matabeleland, and all countries now claimed to be under British influence south of the Zambesi. This, it might be imagined, was a very reasonable speech, but taking it for a text, *The Patriot* newspaper, published at the Paarl, did not hesitate to say, "Place a man like Sir F. Carington at the head of affairs, give him a banquet four times a year, and let him make a speech, and in a couple of years the doll will be dancing merrily—the discreet conduct of Robinson was worth more than ten thousand red coats."

De Zuid Afrikaan said, in August, 1889, "If we must choose between direct British rule, or that of a British company and Transvaal supremacy in the

North, then we are persuaded that the last mentioned would not only be much more advantageous for Afrikaners, but also for the digger and foreign emigrant, than that of a power which always before the interests of Colonists and colonization keeps in view other interests, which are in conflict with them upon questions of the greatest importance." In fact, they wanted "the perfect control and administration by the race of Colonists over all the resources and powers of Southern Africa." Pursuing this subject, the same organ of Colonial Dutch popular opinion tells us that Afrikanerism and Republicanism are not the same. "The true party difference was shown when the Glen Grey question came before Parliament, and when it appeared that the Afrikaner party refused to allow a rapidly increasing race of barbarians to obtain the victory over themselves and Colonists of British blood by systematically bestowing unheard of privileges on natives." *

Speaking in Graaff Reinet on the subject of South African Nationality, Mr. Hofmeyr declared that a truly blessed consummation would be attained if the European races, and the several now divided communities in South Africa, were blended into one people and in one political federation. Before blending they must become of one mind, and before federation they must adopt a common general policy, and this will never come of making speeches, or of writing articles or treatises—it must be the slowly

* "The issue of the Glen Grey matter was not whether the Natives should be dispossessed of lands upon which they had been settled by a former Government, and which they had not forfeited by misconduct, but whether there might not be found, upon official inquiry, unoccupied and uncultivated land in Glen Grey suitable for occupation by Colonists in preference to its present derelict state" (*Zuid Afrikaan*).

maturing fruit of education, and of the popular moral development. To make us one people there must be no representation by fortune-hunters, no favouring of Kafirs before Colonists, no surrender of the interests of the country to barbarians, no system of education that does not square with the nature of things. Commenting upon this deliverance, we are told by the *Cape Times*, that the Bond requires "the commercial class to be denied; the black mass right to land or property never to be recognized when it interferes with a white man's convenience; public education to be regulated so as to maintain indelibly a black skin as the brand of a servile race."

The Bond was excellently organized and skilfully led. It was correctly said, that by themselves the Afrikaner members could carry no measure, but, taking a leaf out of the book of the Irish Home Rulers, they secured a stable equilibrium by an adroit use of the balancing stick. "To capture a vaunting English Democrat, and to convert him into an Afrikaner Bond slave, was a clever and daring experiment, but not creditable to the political virtue of the Democrat." *

The rule of the Bond was felt to be exceedingly galling. Under excellent organization, and by means of the balancing power just referred to, this Institution absolutely ruled the Cape Colony through Parliament. It has been said that the small Excise tax was entirely abolished, and a duty of five shillings per hundred pounds weight levied on flour, so that the leading features of the Bond fiscal policy could be most justly summed up in five words, "Dear

* *The Cape Times.*

bread and cheap brandy." The corn and wine farmers were thus protected, although in truth there was a great deal that was illusory in this protection, as both corn and wine farmers were generally poor wretches, very much in the power of the middleman. The cry of "Africa for the Afrikanders" was believed by Englishmen to mean Africa for people of Dutch and French extraction. No doubt, many of the more educated "Afrikanders" held wider views, but from the Dutch clergy to the humblest agriculturist there was a great national impulse for which there is somewhat of a reason and an expression in the sentiment that "blood is thicker than water." The farmers of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State were, of course, ranked in the Cape Dutch nationality.

This domination of the Bond caused strong language to be used. One of the leading organs of public opinion published in Cape Town declared that "the sacrifice of restraint which has for twenty years been the heritage of the English section of South Africa has been productive of the smallest and most feeble results. The policy of conciliation, the staying of self, the trusting that the morrow will overcome racial hostility has been a complete waste of good will. The perpetual holding out of the olive branch of the right hand of good fellowship has been met with rebuffs, and even with open acts of hostility and insult. The granting of perfect freedom of thought, of complete liberty of speech, of absolute security from the smallest shadow of oppression, instead of producing feelings of gratitude, or of even the smallest consideration, has been forgotten, and the dispensers of freedom and the protectors of their coast are to

this day treated as aliens, oppressors, and interlopers by numbers of the people. . . . The proofs of this abound on every hand. The covert doings in Swaziland, in Matabeleland, the arming of Burghers, the treaty of defence between the two Republics, the attempt to minimize the influence of the English language, the opposition to the connection with the Cape Colony by rail, and the dark intrigues which have met with such success in the struggle for the Bechuanaland railway are signs palpable enough to the merest novice in political thought. Racial hostility and prejudice have much to do with it. The patience of the English nature is showing signs of resenting the countless insults and acts of enmity. If Great Britain should throw aside the olive branch, justice will hold that the fault does not lie with her sons out here." *

At this stage in our history it is most significant to note that, adverting to the alliance between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, one of the chief organs of British opinion in the Cape Colony † took this union to be a sign that a recrudescence of the eternal South African question could not be very distant. "The two Republics have not combined for nothing, they have an object in view, and their tacit if not avowed alliance with the Afrikaner part in the Cape Colony shows what it is. The treaty is one more in the game which the anti-English party in the Cape Colony is playing against the English supremacy. On both sides movements are taking place which threaten to make a collision inevitable at no very distant date. It will be wonderful if no collision arise."

* *The Cape Times*, already quoted.

† Ibid.

The Bond was getting tired of the Sprigg Ministry, and soon obtained an opportunity of turning it out, by means of opposing its railway legislation. At the same time it must be admitted that the session of 1889 was cruelly disappointing to a large section of the Colony. The South-Western districts declared that their hopes had again been shattered by a demoralized Ministry and a truckling Parliament. For what purpose? "To keep in office a few salaried puppets to dance to the tunes of a mixed crowd of spurious patriots, who elect, in their blind and misguided policy, to waste their overpaid time, and expend the country's money in furthering the interest of a neighbouring State. A toadying Government and a cowardly Parliament."

There was more dignity of expression, so far as the Bechuanaland extension was concerned. At the Mayor's banquet, held at Kimberley on the 1st of November, 1889, one of the newspapers of the day says that Mr. Rhodes and Sir Gordon Sprigg, marching arm-in-arm to the Zambesi, with the British Lion holding his tail erect before them, would make a good and apposite subject for a cartoon, if a Tenniel were at hand to sketch it. Certainly Mr. Rhodes was determined that the British Lion should lose no time in marching through Bechuanaland, and, as a means to that end, declared that the best message they had that evening was, that although the Cape Parliament had resolved to delay the advance of railways, and only to build the line from Bloemfontein to the Transvaal, yet there was going to be a route from the Cape Colony, *viâ* Kimberley, to the interior.

In the Parliamentary session, opened at Cape Town on the 29th of May, 1890, the *pièce de resistance* laid before Parliament, was a large railway scheme intended to conciliate all parties, and thus obtain the support of all parties. This included lines from Warrenton to Vryburg; one through Du Toits Kloof, so as to shorten the Western railway between Cape Town and Worcester; an Indwe coal line; Midland and Eastern junction (Middelburg Road to Stormberg); the purchase of the Grahamstown and Port Alfred railway; a line from Mossel Bay to Ashton, *viâ* Riversdale and Swellendam; one from Mossel Bay, *viâ* George, Oudtshoorn, and Willowmore, to Klipplaats (on the Port Elizabeth and Graaff Reinet railway); a line from Klipplaats, *viâ* Cookhouse, Somerset East, Bedford, Fort Beaufort, and Alice, to King Williams Town; and, lastly, a railway from Graaff Reinet to Richmond, and thence to Richmond Road (on main line from Cape Town). There was to be no cutting or trimming. The Government must carry the measure in its integrity, and was determined to obtain all, or sacrifice themselves on the shrine of duty.

Unfortunately for the Ministry, the Premier was very ill, and could scarcely manage to take part in the fierce railway debates of the session. Mr. Sauer declared that a more ruinous measure had never been proposed to the detriment of the Colony. "We are asked," he said, "to add £10,000,000 to our National debt, and if this be done the finances of the country will be thoroughly deranged. It must be remembered that railway revenue was precarious, and it should also be taken into consideration that the

farmers' labour market would be greatly disorganized if such very extensive works were taken in hand."

Sir James Sivewright was greeted with loud applause when he declared, that pressing this railway scheme presented a sad instance of an attempt to debauch Parliamentary opinion, and to import unwholesome corruptive influences into the House. He thought that they should clear out of the way this insane folly of combining all these proposals in one scheme. A land tax would be their last resource to meet the interest on the large loan which would be required. Mr. Merriman said that New Zealand had crippled itself for years by doing what Government now asks us to do. The Johannesburg Gold Fields have been the salvation of this country. There has been great inflation; and the public debt, which amounted to £13,000,000 in 1881, now stood at £23,540,000, and it was out of the question to increase the permanent burden of the country by an amount of £10,000,000. Our revenue depended entirely on Customs and carrying. The ox-waggon traffic was cheaper, and would kill profit on several of the lines proposed. As an example of reckless expenditure, he adduced the case of the town of Alice, whose purchase price only amounted to £34,000, because that is the rateable value of the whole place, yet it was proposed to spend about £400,000 to run a railway to it. What does Graaff Reinet produce? Grapes and a little mohair. You propose to spend a million of money to carry oysters, another million of money to carry pumpkins, another million to carry tobacco, another million to carry grapes, and another million to carry something else. The honourable

gentleman concluded by saying that he had tried to bring the subject forward without prejudice.

Mr. Vintcent correctly remarked that there was one universal cry from all parts of the Colony in favour of railways, while he strongly championed the cause of the much-neglected South-Western districts. Sir Thomas Uppington, although one of the Ministers, objected to the Du Toit's Kloof deviation; while Colonel Schermbrucker, the Minister of Public Works, fought with his usual tenacity and perseverance. Mr. Laing defended the scheme. He said that the experience of our expenditure on railways was most satisfactory. Their credit was so good in London, that there could be no difficulty in obtaining further supplies of money, and there was a universal cry from the public, for railways, except in those districts already amply supplied. Mr. Innes was of opinion that proposals for railways should be originated, and accepted, entirely on their merits, and exclusive of any party consideration. The statement of the Ministry that the Bill must be taken as a whole is demoralizing because an attempt to make members vote in favour of lines they disapproved. However, there was now a case of climb down, which reminded him of the mechanical toy representing a little nigger going up a palm tree until he comes in contact with a cocoanut, and then comes down as fast as possible. Well, in this case the little nigger is the Government. Mr. Hofmeyr also declared himself against a measure which would lay the heavy burden of half a million per annum interest upon the taxpayer. Indeed, to support such a scheme would be almost criminal indifference to the welfare of the country.

The great railway Bill of the Government was evidently doomed. Mr. Rhodes, as well as Mr. Hofmeyr, opposed it. The Prime Minister was physically unfit to do battle, and when division time came it was found that, while the Indwe line and that from Burghersdorp to Norval's Pont were carried by thirty-eight to thirty, the others were thrown out by large majorities.* Sir Gordon Sprigg moved the adjournment of the House. In consequence of the very grave situation of political affairs, Mr. Sauer was sent for, and in the interregnum the late Prime Minister introduced the substance of the Budget Speech he would have made if his Government had retained office.

Mr. Rhodes became Premier ; Mr. Innes, Attorney-General ; Mr. Merriman, Treasurer ; Mr. Rhodes, and afterwards Sir James Sivewright, Commissioner of Public Works ; Mr. Sauer, Colonial Secretary ; and to Mr. Faure, Member of the Bond, and for the Paarl, was given the Secretaryship of Native Affairs. This was evidently a temple of unity, whose fabric was of the composite order of architecture. The "hand of Esau" became evident, although Mr. Rhodes was the Jacob of the occasion. Mr. Hofmeyr and the champion of the British South Africa Company went into political partnership, and Mr.

* This is one of the Division Lists. Ayes, 25: Upington, Barry, Brabant, P. J. du Toit, Griffith, Hutton, Johnson, Keyter, Lynch, Nixon, Norton, O'Reilly, Pearson, Pope, Robertson, Schermbrucker, Smith, Steyn, Theron, Van Heerden, Vintcent, Warren, Wood, Mackay, and Laing. Noes, 40: Scanlen, Basson, Beyers, De Villiers, De Vos, De Waal, Douglass, A. S. du Plessis, J. P. du Plessis, M. J. du Plessis, A. H. du Toit, Frost, Fuller, Immerman, Innes, Jones, Joubert, Krige, J. H. Lange, S. J. Lange, Le Roux, Lewis, Louw, Luttig, Marais, Merriman, Ohlssen, Orpen, Orsmond, Paton, Rhodes, Sauer, Smuts, Van der Walt, Van Zyl, Venter, Weeber, Wege, Faure, Sivewright.

Laing lost no time in challenging an "unholy alliance," which soon became a hot subject of controversy. Sir Gordon Sprigg with his supporters declared in vain that, in the interest of the country, it was both impolitic and undesirable that the official representative of the British South Africa Company should be Prime Minister of the Colony.

Mr. Merriman brought forward a Budget in which an increase in trade and revenue was referred to. His policy was to pay off debt, and pay for public works, out of surplus income. The measures passed during a session in which one great fight had exhausted all the combatants, and resulted in a change of Ministry, were thirty in number, and included no laws of importance, although it should be noted that the Appellate Jurisdiction Act conferred on the Supreme Court of the Colony jurisdiction as a Court of Appeal, from any Court acting under the "Africa Order in Council, 1889." This was really a step towards Federation, as it joined in some respects other portions of Her Majesty's Dominions in South Africa with those in the Cape of Good Hope. A Census Bill also became law.

The union between Mr. Hofmeyr and Mr. Rhodes was complete, and no doubt each thought that he used the other. The great absorbing patriotism of the former in favour of Afrikanerism was gratified. In native policy, protection of corn and of wine industries, as well as generally in all matters that favoured the farmers of the country, he believed that Mr. Rhodes was thoroughly with him. The latter desired a federation of States under Imperial

auspices, and considered the friendship of the people of Dutch extraction in the Cape Colony to be an important stepping-stone. He wished to open up the North, to found a new Empire,* and to help its interests, while at the same time aggrandizing the South by means of union. Mr. Innes was one of those peculiarly well-meaning and honest politicians who should not have joined a Coalition Ministry, containing elements of a discordant character. Mr. Hofmeyr at various times proved himself a statesman of considerable subtlety and power, and was now used very successfully in negotiations with the South African Republic with reference to Swaziland and other important subjects. Undoubtedly he succeeded in removing, at least partially, the strong opposition to the Cape Colony which existed in the breasts of the President and the members of the Transvaal Raad.

In the session of Parliament which met in Cape Town in May, 1891, the Rhodes Ministry, inspired and supported by Mr. Hofmeyr, possessed a firm majority, and it is significant that the most important debate of the session took place on Mr. Hofmeyr's motion in favour of such a revision of the Franchise as "to secure due weight to the material and

* When the railway was opened to Vryburg, in December, 1890, Mr. Rhodes said that his object in life was to open up the land to the North. With a new population and just aspirations eastwards the Transvaal could not well step in. At a time when each nation was painting the map, he felt it his duty to preserve, if he could, the development of the lands south of the Zambesi for the citizens of South Africa—all of South African birth could participate. It was not too much to hope that young South Africa, obtaining its education under the shadow of Table Mountain, might devise that scheme, which they all desired so heartily, and that was a full, free, and real union of South Africa, south of the Zambesi. Mr. Rhodes has invariably been in favour of race union, and never opposed to the people of Dutch extraction.

educational interests of the country." He did not bind himself to any particular scheme of revision, but he suggested, as worthy of consideration, a plan recommended by the Afrikaner Bond, by which an additional vote would be given to every person occupying premises of the value of £100, and to every person of professional status or possessing a certain educational qualification, such as having matriculated at the University. An amendment of the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Sauer) was accepted, pledging the Government to consider the question during the recess. Here we have the conservative tendency of Mr. Hofmeyr very apparently shown. So far as the native vote is concerned, the Bond never pretended to consider that it was wise to permit the too extended franchise granted to aborigines. Restrictions were eventually successfully imposed, but, with characteristic subtlety, Mr. Hofmeyr obtained exceptive laws in favour of certain educated natives so far as the prohibition of intoxicants is concerned, and we are now brought into contact with a subject of considerable interest and importance.

As we have already seen, the Native Laws Commission took evidence in a thorough manner, and, as a sequence, was able to frame excellent laws, which comprised total prohibition of the sale of intoxicants to aboriginal natives in Transkeian territory. Their report and code were approved, and the latter was incorporated in the Statutes of the Cape Colony. Even in Ciskeian districts prohibition areas were formed, but it was reported by the experienced Civil Commissioner of King William's Town (Mr. Chalmers)

that these areas were not sufficiently large. In place, however, of extending these prohibition districts, the Government pandered to the Western Brandy party, and totally abolished them. Now the abnormal position existed of refusing brandy to aborigines east of the Kei, and freely giving them power to purchase it on the western side of that river. Mr. Brownlee, one of the most experienced magistrates, thought that absolute prohibition was not likely to be granted, as it would imply the practical repeal of Mr. Hofmeyr's Act,* but that they should ask for local option, a large extension of the area of restriction, and for a considerable increase in the price of brandy, whether brought about by an Excise or by heavier licence fees.

Colonel Schermbrucker admitted, in his evidence before the Native Laws Commission,† that the Gaika nation had been most seriously injured and demoralized by intoxicants; overwhelming testimony proved that the aborigines under our charge were in course of being ruined; farmers and other employers of labour complained, missionaries unanimously called for a change in the laws; and the absence of an Excise made brandy so cheap as to render its sale a veritable curse. Reform in the liquor laws was loudly called for. Local option and prohibition of sale to natives seemed specially desirable, and, in response to the agitation, Sir Gordon Sprigg thought it desirable, in 1889, to advise the Governor to

* Making exceptions in favour of educated persons, etc., among natives in connection with prohibition of the sale of intoxicants to them.

† See the overwhelming evidence before the Commission on the ruin caused to natives by intoxicants. Sir T. Upington was one of the members who signed the report.

appoint a Commission to report upon the entire subject.*

The Drink Commission took evidence throughout the length and breadth of the Colony ; and the chairman, who was a Judge of the Supreme Court of ability and tried impartiality, wrote that portion of the report of the Commission which emphatically recommends the repeal of the Hofmeyr Acts, and that the earnest request of the aboriginal natives be granted, and prohibition of the sale of intoxicants accorded for their protection and defence. There were many other recommendations, including the suggestion that the "canteen on wheels," or sales from brandy waggons, should be put an end to. A minority report was at the same time sent in, signed by Messrs. Hofmeyr, Botha, and Marais. As one of the organs of the day declared, the essential vice of the latter document was the denial in it of any relief to the natives who pray for protection against the curse of liquor. It was remarked at the same time that "on such a point the support of a Church Synod might have been reasonably expected." The Dutch Reformed Clergy, however, did not dare to interfere.†

On one side the Brandy party and their supporters argued that there must be a logical policy. Treat

* The members were Mr. Justice Maasdorp, chairman ; Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.L.A. ; Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C. ; Hon. R. Botha, M.L.C. ; Messrs. J. Marais, M.L.A., Ben. Holland, C.C. and R.M. ; and the Rev. Nindeck Abraham.

† The Dutch Reformed Synod held at New Jersey, U.S., behaved differently, as it in June, 1890, passed a resolution against the drink traffic, urging that "such steps should be taken as would lead to the speedy overthrow of this relentless enemy of our national, moral, and spiritual growth."

the natives as children if you will, but that course necessitates depriving them of the franchise. So long, however, as they are accorded the privilege of voting, they should retain the right of buying intoxicants like other members of the community. Besides, it is impossible, particularly in the western districts, to distinguish between black and white persons—so many are the shades and gradations of colour. In reply, it was urged that the law should be made to apply only to aboriginal natives about whom there could be no dispute, and that, as they earnestly prayed for a prohibitive law and it was proved necessary for their defence and protection, the argument about the franchise was merely special pleading. The interests of the wine farmers necessitated a large sale, although intoxicants were fast demoralizing and ruining the natives. “The brandy producers must flourish, no matter who are ruined. In fact, the question is simply, whose claims are to be considered—those of Mammon or of God?”

The Attorney-General of the new Ministry, Mr. Innes, succeeded in carrying a Bill during the session of 1891, founded upon the reports of the Drink Commission, in which the establishment of “local option,” and very useful provisions with reference to inspection, Sunday dealing, habitual drunkards,* and other subjects, were enacted. Nevertheless the unfortunate aboriginal native was still left unprotected, except, of course, in Transkeian territories; and the abnormal spectacle was presented of every civilized

* Habitual drunkards can be imprisoned for a year. Mr. Wilmot afterwards succeeded in carrying the “Inebriates Bill,” which permits the establishment of Inebriate Homes, and assimilates the law on the subject to that in England.

country in the world guarding the native against intoxicants, and the Cape Colony refusing to do so. The Labour Commission * subsequently reported, unanimously, that restriction of the sale of intoxicants to aborigines was absolutely necessary to prevent the demoralization and gradual destruction of the labour market. This argument strongly appealed to farmers in the Midland and Eastern districts, but nevertheless the Brandy party continued to triumph. Mr. Innes brought in a Permissive Bill, giving power to those districts which chose to exercise it of prohibiting through their licensing boards the sale of intoxicants to aboriginal natives. This most useful measure passed the House of Assembly twice, but was on each occasion rejected by the Bond majority in the Legislative Council.†

A Census Act, passed in 1890, became the means of procuring vital statistics of great value and interest. The population of the Cape Colony comprised :

Europeans	...	...	...	...	376,987
Malays	...	...	...	...	13,907
Hottentots	...	...	...	...	50,338
Fingoes	...	...	...	...	229,680
Kafirs	...	...	...	...	608,456
Mixed	...	...	...	...	247,856
Total					1,527,224

* This Commission included among its members Messrs. Neethling, Herholdt, Theron, Orpen, and Douglass. They took evidence throughout the Colony, and reported upon the necessity of restricting the sale of intoxicants to natives in order to save the labour market. The trend of legislation has been to wisely regulate and restrict liquor-selling. One of the last Acts passed was that introduced by Mr. Wilmot, which prevents the sale or delivery of intoxicants to children.

† It eventually became law in 1898, but in a maimed and imperfect form.

Religions :—

D. R. Church	...	...	...	...	297,000
English	...	...	...	...	139,000
Wesleyan	...	...	...	...	106,000
Independent or Congregational	...	...	...	...	65,000
Presbyterian	...	...	...	...	32,000
Catholics	...	...	...	...	17,000
No religion	...	...	...	...	753,000

A small balance is divided among numerous insignificant sects.

In education the Cape Colony was proved to be one of the most backward countries in the world in consequence of containing so many aboriginal natives, and, in a sparsely peopled country, so many scattered farmers, who found the education of their children almost an impossibility. Immense efforts have been made to establish farm schools, but an undue portion of the taxpayers' money is systematically expended in cheapening the education of the children of well-to-do people, while mission schools and the education of the children of the poor in towns are comparatively neglected.* It must, unfortunately, be added, that

* The difficulties of extending education in South Africa are of the most serious character. In 1889 one of the principal organs of public opinion declared, "We are quite one hundred years behind all other British Colonies in culture and all the arts of life. The schoolmaster has been abroad elsewhere, but here there are vast expanses of land where he is either unknown, or known only in the form of a drudge who varies his nominal employment with the counting of sheep at the kraals or with odd jobs about the homestead." Writing of the great majority of the population, a well-informed observer says, "The South African native has no more conception than the Oriental of the dignity of labour. He likes to chase wild creatures or to fight with his rivals or hereditary foes, but to till the ground, or otherwise to make an economical use of his bodily vigour, is not agreeable to his sense of the fitness of things. In the absence of wild animals to kill or wild animals to battle with, the Kafir acquires a habit of indolence." The Presbyterian Lovedale Institution at Alice, under Dr. Stewart, has done its best to educate natives. The Trappists are

the system adopted for Native education is faulty and foolish, in so far as work in the fields is not made the primary object—coupled, of course, with religious instruction. It is noticeable in the statistics just furnished that about a quarter of a million of the inhabitants of the Colony are “mixed”—that is, people of varying shades of colour, from the nearly black person to the quadroon. These are chiefly to be found in the Western Province—notably in Cape Town. The habitat of the Malay is the seaport towns; Hottentots in the east have been killed by dissipation, and now exist in remote districts; while the home of the aboriginal native extends from the Gamtoos River to the Bashee.

The Government found it absolutely necessary to introduce a stringent Bank Bill, and in the session of 1891 it became law. It was a case of locking the door after the horse was stolen, but it was, nevertheless, a most acceptable and necessary measure, making due provision for credit, and rendering bank notes absolutely secure by providing that Government stock should be held in the Treasury against their issue. Unfortunate speculations had brought the old established Cape of Good Hope Bank to ruin. One of the clauses in its trust deed made it necessary that liquidation should take place when half of the capital was lost. This event occurred, and Mr. Eaton, the chairman,

engaged also in a great work, and they will only train natives to labour, coupled with very rudimentary literary instruction. In the Cape Colony a good deal of effort and large sums of money have been spent. Sir Langham Dale did much to increase the number of schools, and Dr. Muir has also added to them considerably. “Compulsory education” is talked of. If each denomination were subsidised with State funds in proportion to its numbers, always under inspection, great improvements could be made, but the petrified fossilism of undenominational public schools kills religious effort.

did what he honestly believed to be his duty, and the institution was placed in liquidation. The difference between the paid-up and subscribed amount of each share in this limited company, amounting to £30, was called up. Eventually every creditor was paid, and it appeared probable that if there had been no liquidation the ship would have righted, and eventually sailed into port.

The Union Bank was an unlimited liability company, and it is interesting to notice how in this case, as well as in that of the Cape of Good Hope Bank, reassuring and excellent statements were laid before the shareholders at meetings held shortly previous to ruin. One of the customers of the Union Bank, named "Lippert," plunged in the Johannesburg share market, became a debtor to the extent of more than £150,000, and, in a moment of desperation, signed his cousin's name to protect his drafts. All was found out, the bank was ruined, and the terrible calls of an unlimited company upon its solvent shareholders were made.* Great distress was caused by the failure of two leading and long-established institutions, and the legislation to which we have just referred put banking companies in a different position, and protected the public as far as possible. A sequel to the Union Bank failure occurred when an action was tried, at the instance of this company,

* In the case of one shareholder the first call amounted to £40,000, which was paid. The unfortunate Lippert seemed to believe that his cousin (Mr. Beit) would allow him to use his signature, and it appears in one case to have been permitted. If the securities had been retained, and sold in the good times which followed, all Lippert's indebtedness would have been covered. This unfortunate man was hounded down by an enemy, arrested in America, and tried in Cape Town in 1895. He was sentenced to a convict's life on the Breakwater, but released, because of ill health, before he had served the entire period of his sentence.

against Mr. Beit, who was sued for the payment of £168,000, being the amount of promissory notes bearing the signature of Mr. Max Michaelis, Beit's agent. These were proved to be forgeries, and judgment was given for defendant. The Court, at the same time, severely condemned the culpable mismanagement of the bank. The Paarl Bank was the third institution which succumbed in the Cape Colony. It was placed under the Winding-up Act on the 9th of December, 1890. The liability was limited—capital £130,000, “reserve fund” £11,000, and debts between £60,000 and £70,000.

The Bond acquired great stability and strength by its union with Mr. Rhodes, and an abnormal position was taken by Mr. Innes when he joined a party whose fiscal policy was entirely in opposition to that which he had always upheld. Sir Gordon Sprigg, in the rôle of Opposition leader, persistently challenged the dual position of Mr. Rhodes, as Prime Minister and Managing Director of the British South Africa Company, and did not think that mere retirement, whenever the two interests came into conflict, was sufficient. Surely the interests of the Cape Colony were very great, and he contended that these should be the first consideration; while the duties devolving upon the head of a Government were so multifarious, that they ought to engage the whole time and attention of any gentleman holding the position of Premier. Mr. Merriman said that he was glad Sir Gordon Sprigg had at last tumbled off the fence, and fallen on one side of the rail. He had been in winter quarters for some time, and now came out, blowing his own trumpet, and desirous of bringing on a

general engagement. The position of the Premier was constitutional—if not, let a motion be tabled challenging it.

Mr. Rhodes was of opinion that it was perhaps better that the direction of affairs in the North should be in accordance with Cape aspirations and desires, than would be the case if these affairs were administered by those not connected with the Colony. When the Bechuanaland railway, now in progress, went beyond Mafeking, a great portion of our trade would be assisted by it. He went on to say that it was not for the benefit of the Colony that they should take over huge native communities. The Cape wanted land without natives, rather than natives without land. By means of the Bloemfontein Convention they would, within eighteen months, take a large portion of Transvaal trade.

At this time an erroneous decision of the Speaker declared that, as the Premier did not hold a portfolio, he could not enter the Upper House.

So far as railway progress is concerned, the Government proved energetic and wise. The Commissioner of Public Works went to Pretoria, and undertook to become purchaser of debentures of the Netherlands Railway Company, not to exceed £900,000 in value, on condition of obtaining special running powers, a fixed tariff, and other advantages. The railway from Bloemfontein to the Transvaal was so diligently proceeded with as to be opened to Kronstadt early in 1892, and it could be said that all difficulties were at an end so far as reaching Johannesburg was concerned, while future union by rail with Rhodesia *via* Bechuanaland was practically assured.

The debate in 1891 * upon the subject of the franchise † clearly showed that aggrandizing property by a system of giving more than one vote, and diminishing native political power, were dear to the hearts of the Bond party. But unfortunately for the people of the Colony, the fiscal policy of this party, as already has been said, was thoroughly unsound. Protection to the corn-boer, involving dear bread ; and protection to the brandy-farmer, necessitating no excise, were continuously retained as its corner-stones. The towns were comparatively unrepresented in the legislature. A strong Bond organization rendered supposed country interests supreme, and only a species of political cataclysm could change the situation. This was to come, but, in the mean time, the apostle of empire in the north considered that he was advancing the great interests he had at heart by coalition with Mr. Hofmeyr, while the latter, full of a patriotism which burned in favour of Afrikanderism, was quite contented with a bargain which made his party the rulers of the largest and most powerful State in Southern Africa.

The great question always present in South Africa was, according to Mr. Hofmeyr, how can a great harmonious nation be formed out of our divided peoples ?

* One speaker declared that "it was impossible to get up and defend on purely logical grounds a franchise which made him an equal of the Kafir with his blanket and red clay." Sir T. Upington asked the house "who were the extinct volcanoes?" He went on to say that they sat opposite—a trio on the Treasury benches. The Attorney-General asked "for a little time to consider the best means of swallowing a pill which he would call Hofmeyr's purge, or the Colonial Secretary's bolus."

† On a motion of Mr. Hofmeyr in favour of such a revision of the franchise as to secure due weight to the material and educational interests of the country.

The Bond explicitly declared its confidence in Mr. Rhodes, who stated that he himself was an inheritor of Sir Bartle Frere's policy, but added, "The principle must be recognized in the old country, that the people born and bred in this Colony, and descended from those who existed in this country many generations ago, are much more capable of dealing with their own affairs than those who have to dictate seven thousand miles away. Now this is the principle of the Afrikaner Bond." Another champion of the organization * was Sir James Sivewright, the Commissioner of Public Works, who declared at Uitenhage, in May 1891, that "He had learned the politics of South Africa at the feet of one (Mr. Hofmeyr) who was an honoured guest at that table, and was he whom they proudly spoke of as 'Onze Jan.' When he was asked to join the Government of the Cape Colony he applied to Mr. Hofmeyr for advice. He had accepted as a member of the Afrikaner Bond, and would remain in the Ministry so long as the Government was true to the principles of the Afrikaner Bond. No man in that room was nearer to the true spirit of the Bond than the Prime Minister."

The people of Dutch extraction had indeed been given "their head," and, under able organization and leadership, obtained the mastery. To show at least one phase of opinion existing among them, two quotations will be given. The first is from *De Patriot* newspaper, and is as follows:—"English

* Another but kindred society, "The Taal Bond," was formed, to keep up the love and practice of Cape Dutch. A monument was erected at Burghersdorp to commemorate the introduction of the use of Cape Dutch into the Parliament of the Cape Colony.

cant * is persistently used in establishing a right of entry into territories belonging to native chiefs in the interior, with a view to their annexation to the British Empire. No inch of land has ever yet been taken but for the good of the black. No English traveller ever penetrates savage regions but for the purpose of extending the dominion of Christianity and of civilization. Other nations have other ends in view, but not the English. The history of British occupation is the history of cant. The annexation of the Transvaal was proceeded with, but motives of piety and pure philanthropy induced them to give it up." The second quotation is from a letter in the *Volksblad* (March, 1891)—"I see the English influence increases more and more in South Africa. I shall never be altogether at ease until South Africa, from the Zambesi to the Cape, is a Republic. The first step in that direction must be the crushing of the Chartered Company. The Rhodes Company strengthens daily the influence of England in South Africa. . . . Here, in the Republic, is a miserable crowd of Hollanders who, only for the purpose of pocketing a few shillings, are ever trying to sow hatred between us and our relatives in other parts of South Africa. I pity those weak Transvaalers who listen to them. The liberty and independence of my Fatherland is for me just as holy as my religion. . . . Hollanders are the only real enemies of the Republic."

The year 1891 was certainly marked by useful legislation and progress in connection with railways. A Ministry of Agriculture was agitated for, and

* In the Taal the English word "cant" is represented by "Pious talk."

afterwards established. Unfortunately, sound fiscal reform was impossible, but when subjects such as the improvement of forests and the furtherance of Colonial industries were brought forward, they received intelligent attention. In the Legislative Council a Committee on Forests proved that their conservation and management had produced most satisfactory results.* In connection with Colonial industries it was shown that in the Cape Colony its people pay annually for Apparel and Slops £560,000 ; other textile manufactures £986,000 ; Hardware, Cutlery, and Ironmongery, £619,000 ; Hats of all sorts, £71,000 ; Saddlery and Harness, £126,000 ; Soap, £57,000 ; Spirits, £141,000 ; Stationery, Paper, etc., £162,000 ; Wine, £39,000 ; Woollen manufactures, £362,000 ; Ale and Beer, £97,000 ; besides large sums for great quantities of butter, cheese, bacon, hams, preserved milk, jams, and oilmen's stores. It was argued, by Mr. Wilmot, that if adversity came we could not go on paying these enormous bills ; and it was not wise for the country to be content with its present condition, fold its hands, and supinely allow things to take their course. Even at the risk of offending importers, it was necessary to bestir ourselves. Our towns were for the most part languishing, and going backward rather than forward ; whereas, if industries existed in them, their citizens would prosper. The Legislative Council had done everything in its power to obtain reliable evidence, and

* Colonel Schermbrucker did very much to improve forest management. The Knysna, Zitzikamma, Alexandria, Döhne, and Tokai Forests are now worth a very large amount. The Count de Vasselot's practical exertions were of the most useful description, and it is to be regretted that his services were not permanently retained. He stated that the value of the Colonial forests was £3,000,000 sterling.

had consulted experts. What they recommended would have the general effect of cheapening articles of food, while giving occupation to the people. It is out of the question to imagine that useful industries can flourish without our encouragement. Industries, like trees, must, in their infancy, receive some protection. Mr. Rhodes subsequently spoke against "bastard" manufactures, such as those which it would be quite impossible, without extreme protection, to carry on; but he, as well, indeed, as the great majority of the people of the Colony, felt it most desirable that food production and all reasonable industries should be encouraged, so as to retain our money and employ our people. The Manufacturers' Associations wisely endeavoured rather to obtain raw materials at low import rates, than to increase protective dues; and, by degrees, obtained valuable concessions, specially in regard to transport of manufactures by rail. One great drawback to all industries in the Cape Colony is naturally the enormous price of the necessaries of life under the Bond fiscal policy.

In the Parliamentary session of 1892 the subject of the franchise was again brought forward by Mr. Hofmeyr. He previously pointed out that the increase in native population was exceedingly great. In 1865 there were 181,000 whites, and 314,000 blacks; in 1875, 236,000 whites, and 484,000 blacks; and now, according to last census, no fewer than 1,138,000 blacks, and only 376,000 whites. The Transvaal native population nearly doubled within twelve years. If progress went on in this way the white population would be swamped. This

note of alarm found an echo in the hearts of members, and the result was the Ballot and Franchise Bill,* in which, for the first time, an educational test was established, while the property qualification was raised. Sir Gordon Sprigg in vain declared that no expression of public opinion had been asked or expressed. Mr. Douglass pleaded for an "honest Bill." All opposition was in vain, and the second reading was triumphantly carried by a large majority.†

In the Legislative Council an attempt was made to negative the Ballot and Franchise Bill, on the ground that it was specially the duty of the Upper House to stop hasty legislation, and that here was a case where the right should be exercised, as the measure had not been really before the country. This was the more necessary in consequence of the Bill being the most important which had been brought forward since the introduction of responsible Government. The coloured population had not abused the franchise, and it should not therefore be partially taken from them. One of the Dutch members declared that it was ordained that the coloured people were not to be as clever as the white races. A good deal had been said about the poor natives losing their votes, but

* To take effect after 1894.

† Ayes 45, Noes 20. *Ayes*: Scanlan, Barnato, Basson, Beyers, Dempers, De Smidt, De Villiers, De Vos, De Waal, J. P. du Plessis, M. J. du Plessis, A. H. du Toit, P. J. du Toit, Faure, Hofmeyr, Immelman, Innes, Joubert, Keyter, Krige, Lange, Lange, Le Roux, Luttig, Lynch, Marais, Merriman, Molteno, Orsmond, Paton, Rhodes, Sauer, Sivewright, Smith, Smuts, Steyn, Theron, Vander Vyver, Vander Walt, Van Wyk, Van Zyl, Weeber, Wege, Van Rensberg, Venter. *Noes*: Sprigg, Douglass, Frost, Fuller, Hockly, Hutton, Jones, Mackay, Norton, Orpen, Pearson, Robertson, Schermbrecker, Tamplin, Trower, Vintcent, Warren, Wiener, Brabant, O'Reilly.

was a man to be allowed the franchise who would not work, but married several wives, and made slaves of them? Mr. Wienand declared that a line ought to be drawn between property and vagrancy—between education and ignorance; the balance of power should rest with those who had most at stake. In the case of coloured people their representatives were found by their friends. Mr. Botha said that the native did as he was told, and was driven to the poll. At this time the Bond was peculiarly powerful in the Legislative Council, and the Bill was consequently easily carried in that House by a large majority.*

Another subject which engaged the attention of the Upper House was that of “trapping” illicit diamond buyers at Kimberley, by means of Government detectives, under the provisions of a special law. This was defended by Mr. Innes, the Attorney-General, on the ground of its necessity under very peculiar circumstances, and because none but “professional I.D.B.’s” were pursued and captured. Certainly it is difficult to excuse a system under which officers of the law tempt persons to commit crimes which are then punished with the utmost severity.† This

* Contents: Messrs. Faure, Ross, Botha, Heatlie, Bellingan, Neethling, De Villiers, Vander Heever, Van Eeden, Van Rhyn, Graaff, Wienand, Hugo, Herholdt, and Mulder.

Non-contents: Wilmot, Sir H. Stockenström, Dolley, and Peacock.

† A special Court sits at Kimberley to try such cases. Penal servitude at the Breakwater, Capetown, for a number of years is the penalty, and many Europeans of education have succumbed to temptation and suffered the dreadful punishment. Diamond-thieving became a fine art at Kimberley. The black man who stole and successfully concealed the diamond, received only a small sum from one man who dealt with another, and so a chain of five or six were formed—the lowest links of which were perfectly ignorant of the name of their real employer. Fortunes were

was stigmatized as dishonest legislation, but, relying upon the solemn assurances of Government, the votes "for trapping" were passed.

The Budget speech displayed a satisfactory state of affairs in some respects only. It was true that imports amounted in value to £7,250,000, and exports to £10,250,000, but the latter were principally composed of gold and diamonds. The pastoral and agricultural resources of the Cape Colony continued to be neglected. No adequate irrigation or light railway system was inaugurated, and the people were content to rely principally upon a carrying trade, and the adventitious help rendered by mineral centres. The "black list" showed the import of immense quantities of butter, cheese, flour, bacon, and other necessaries of life, which could and should be produced superabundantly in Southern Africa. It really seems as if the country were too rich to attend to food production, and consequently the Cape Colony, with a fertile soil and a genial climate, has become one of the most expensive countries in the world. This state of matters is sometimes greatly accentuated by droughts, which recur with absolute certainty but at uncertain intervals. One of these was so severe in 1891 that at Johannesburg it was reported :

made in this manner, and most ingenious methods adopted for sending away the diamonds. In one case the plaster of Paris used for sheathing a pretended paralytic was made use of. The ingenuity of the thieves was countermined by the cleverness of the Companies; and now De Beer's Consolidated Company, by means of "Compounds" and the most constant and intelligent watchfulness, does everything possible to minimize thieving. At one time more diamonds found their way into the hands of illicit buyers than into the custody of the Mining Companies. It is argued that the extremely exceptive character of the circumstances justifies the trapping system, without which the mines could not be worked.

“Though stock have perished by the thousand, and though insolvencies both commercial and agricultural have been multiplied, seldom if ever have we been brought face to face with a positive scarcity of food as the consequence of the rainless season.” Besides droughts there are occasional floods; locusts have become almost a yearly visitation, and diseases among animals abound. Of these last, rinderpest has been the most recent, although by no means the least. So far was the Agricultural Minister, Sir Pieter Faure, moved by these afflictions, as to declare that the ten plagues of Egypt were far outnumbered in Southern Africa.

Railway progress cheered the people of the Cape Colony. By degrees they saw lines extending so as to enable trade from the ports to traverse by rail all Bechuanaland, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic. A quarter of a century previously no one, in his wildest dreams, could have looked forward to uninterrupted railway communication between Cape Town, Buluwayo, and Delagoa Bay. It must be admitted that the energy and ability of Sir James Sivewright considerably assisted the efforts of his Government. At various times this Minister had to negotiate with the Transvaal, and he was able to overcome jealousies and difficulties of a very serious character. No doubt also Mr. Hofmeyr's powerful intervention already referred to was extremely serviceable. It was in 1892 that arrangements were effected with the Netherlands Railway Company and the Government of the South African Republic for the extension of the Colonial and Free State Railway to Johannesburg and Pretoria.

We have just now referred to Mr. Hofmeyr's services in connection with Railway extension to the Transvaal, and must, in justice, again allude to the powerful aid he rendered in trying to keep up a good feeling between the Colony and the neighbouring Republics. Previously Sir Henry Loch had not appealed in vain to this Tribune of the people for assistance in establishing a *modus vivendi* with the Transvaal that would prevent a resort to military operations. As Napoleon said of the State, "L'État c'est moi," so could Mr. Hofmeyr speak of the Bond. Whether we agree or not with his politics, credit must be given to him for striving as a patriot, without fear, and certainly without reward, to advance the cause of his race—the Afrikaners. This people, extending through the Colonies and the Republics, are in his view a Nation, with all the privileges and rights which attach to such a position. Africa must be for them, and those who join them, without ignorant and dangerous interference from Europe. "Let our home-rule constitutional rights be carefully guarded, but at the same time there must be loyalty to the British crown." The statesman who suggested a great scheme of inter-colonial Customs Dues in favour of the Empire is not likely to swerve from feelings of loyalty. "The tail sometimes wags the dog" is, however, rather a vulgar aphorism which indicates Mr. Hofmeyr's unfortunate position on the Corn, Brandy, and Excise questions. He would have been thrown over in the West if he had not agreed to an extreme protective policy, and one which favoured an unlimited untaxed sale of spirits to aboriginal

natives. Now we see him joined with another statesman, filled with the enthusiasm of a grand idea. Soon a great breach is to separate the earnest advocate of Afrikanerism, and the apostle of an Empire in the North.

CHAPTER II.

THE CAPE COLONY (*continued*).

1891-1895.

IN Griqualand West there were terrible complaints of distress, want of work, and poverty. The result was a select Committee of the House of Assembly, which presented a voluminous report.* But Kimberley by degrees settled down, although occasional bursts of excitement occurred, as when the Wesselson Mine was fought for in 1891. The De Beer's Consolidated Mining Company succeeded in obtaining it. This institution had now become of immense importance,† and its success proceeded from consolidation and wise management. But for this

* This Report informs us that distress and poverty at Kimberley have arisen from natural causes, so they must be left to natural remedies. The first minority Report, signed by Messrs. Sprigg and Upington, urged the expediency of special action in dealing with diamond mines in the general interest of the Colony. Messrs. Wiener, Fuller, and Barnato, in the second minority Report, recommend that a voice should be given to Government in regulating mines hereafter to be opened on private land, where mineral rights are not reserved, in fixing the amount of money for claims. Messrs. Sprigg and Upington would provide for opening such mines as Wesselson; and they would prevent all working being stopped. It is worthy of observation that the Orange Free State Mining Titles gave private owners entire right to minerals. In the Cape Colony there was one mining law in Bechuanaland, and another south of the Orange River. A Commission was eventually appointed by the Government to take evidence and draft a Mining law.

† The Revenue of De Beer's amounts annually to many millions—

union of interests diamonds would have fallen to unremunerative prices, and but for the "compound system" by means of which natives are safely housed and looked after during a term of service, Kimberley would have reverted to the weekly pandemonium of early days, and brandy drinking destroyed the labour market of Griqualand West.

In 1891 it became necessary for the Government to consider what steps should be taken to provide for the mail service between the United Kingdom and the Cape Colony, which in this case means a very extended area, as the seven or eight hundred bags of mails landed at Cape Town every week contain correspondence for all parts of Southern Africa. Undoubtedly the Union and Currie lines have performed their work extremely well, and the history of the advancement of the country can be traced in the story of the development of these services, down to a time when such steamers as the *Scot* and *Dunnottar Castle* showed that increased trade and prosperity justified the use of floating palaces driven at great speed. At the expiry of the period of contract, tenders should of course have been called; but in place of this being done a renewed agreement was entered into, by means of which the passage time was made shorter, and a reduced annual amount of payment agreed upon.* As a sequence, the astute

10,000 people are employed in Kimberley. The "floors" contain millions of pounds' worth of diamonds, and a large reserve fund is wisely invested.

At Kenilworth there is a club, as well as model houses for workmen, and an extensive estate where tree-planting, horse-breeding, etc., are conducted.

* £90,000 per annum—time, 19 days. Former time of voyage was 20 days with 12 hours' grace. The monopoly of carrying Government freight was taken away. The *Scot* made the passage in 14 days, 11 hours.

Sir Donald Currie was able to form a shipping ring, and to introduce a clever system of deferred rebate, under and by means of which a virtual monopoly was secured to the fleets of the Union and Castle-Company steamers.*

The "Logan Contract" was the means of causing a disruption of the Ministry in 1893. Sir James Sivewright, Commissioner of Public Works, accepted a tender for the supply of refreshments, etc., over all the railway lines of the Colony, without calling for tenders. *Prima facie* he was mistaken, as, for a large service such as this, public competition should undoubtedly have been invoked, but the Minister thoroughly believed that Mr. Logan was the only man capable of doing the work properly, and, in public interests and specially for public comfort, thought it wise to place the business in his hands, on terms which he considered were both fair and reasonable.† A virtual monopoly was accorded for fifteen years, and the draft of the contract or lease was not submitted to the Attorney-General. When all this became known, great indignation arose, and in a letter from Mr. Innes, Attorney-General, to Mr. Rhodes, he says, "I enclose a few cuttings which are only the first droppings of the shower." The Attorney-General was very much displeased, as were

* The South African Chambers of Commerce and the merchants of the Cape Colony had only to thank themselves, as but for their inertia tenders would have been called for by Government. Several members moved in this matter, both in the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, but received no support. Several competing lines started, but all were effectually combined in "the Ring," which was able to fix freight and passage at higher rates than formerly, and to defy competition.

† Indeed the Commissioner thought that "Logan was foolish, and that the contract was extremely favourable to Government."

also both Messrs. Merriman and Sauer. The Minister had given the contract to his own personal friend, while concealing the existence of it from every one of his colleagues. In reply, the Commissioner declared that the so-called monopoly only amounted to an additional rental of £400 per annum. Tenders were not invariably called, and this was an admirable agreement. The storm of public opinion raged fiercely ; Mr. Rhodes, as Prime Minister, cabled from Egypt that the contract must be cancelled. Sir James Sivewright took the entire burden on his own shoulders, and resigned ; while Mr. Innes declared that personal confidence had ceased to exist between the other members of the Cabinet and the Commissioner. Mr. Logan brought an action against the Government for breach of contract, and recovered £5000 damages, with costs ; while attacks were made subsequently upon Sir James Sivewright, based really upon insinuations, as nothing whatsoever against the honour of the Minister was proved. Indeed he was treated in this and other matters with scant justice, as every one is innocent until proved guilty, and charges are futile unless supported by evidence. In a deliberative assembly, when the character of a Minister is concerned, there should be either impeachment or silence. Sir James Sivewright, on the occasion of his resignation, declared that blessed will that country be whose public men, on their retirement from the service of the State, can bear as firm a consciousness of good work done with as clear a conscience as he was carrying with him. "He left a stainless record on the Treasury Bench."

A minute was passed by the Premier to the Executive Council, directing that in future no contracts should be given without tenders being previously called for. Other charges were made against the Commissioner about cartage contracts, and his enemies were very loud in their denunciations. But really nothing was proved. Certainly Sir James Sivewright may have been deficient in sound judgment, and for this he atoned by leaving office. In the eyes of Messrs. Merriman, Innes, and Sauer, the Commissioner was evidently the Jonah of the ship of State, and when he was cast overboard it was no doubt presumed that everything would go well. They were, therefore, disconcerted when the captain handed in his resignation, and there was no longer any one at the helm. New officers had to be engaged, and, *mirabile dictu*, Mr. Rhodes, who was chosen by Sir Henry Loch to form a Cabinet, did not include the indignant trio in his Ministry. In their place, Sir Gordon Sprigg became Treasurer; Mr. Schreiner, Attorney-General; and Mr. Frost, Secretary for Native Affairs. Mr. Laing took the office of Commissioner; and Mr. Faure, as a sort of Vicar of Bray who stayed in every administration, continued to hold a portfolio.

Fierce attacks from the virtuous but discomfited trinity were now the order of the day. Their own rectitude and the turpitude of Sir James Sivewright were favourite themes; but the "stainless knight" held his ground well, and the new Ministry was strong in Bond support, and in the consciousness of good intentions. The proceedings of a Cape Parliament, it may be incidentally mentioned, are based very much upon a pernicious system of payment. Each member,

except those resident in Cape Town, receives a sum of thirty-six shillings per diem for a period not to exceed ninety days. As a consequence, there is an immense amount of talking during the first six weeks, when it seems actually as if a desire to waste time existed. There is perpetually a great fuss in the House of Assembly upon personal questions and comparative trifles. Very lengthy harangues are indulged in by the leading men, and subsequently important business receives but comparatively scant attention, as the rank and file of the members will not remain at their posts after the period for which they are paid has expired.

Previous to Mr. Rhodes taking the portfolio of Native Affairs, the principal boast of the Minister in charge of the Aborigines was that he had done nothing. A very inferior man, at a small salary, would suffice for this post, if it were quite understood that *vis inertię* was a crowning merit. Now the Premier changed the passive policy into an active one, by introducing the Glen Grey Bill, which was a remarkable and important departure. Previously the Bond had nibbled at the Glen Grey lands, and desired that at least a portion of them should be allotted to Europeans. The measure now referred to saved and protected the owners, and, adopting a plan very similar to that most successfully employed by missionaries in the "Reductions" of Paraguay, put the management of their own local affairs into the hands of the natives, with principal control and veto power vested in the Magistrate. Men who would not work had to pay a labour tax, and this regulation was seriously taken exception to by those who are

fond of arguing from a theoretical basis. *Primâ facie* it does certainly appear that to try to make a man work by fining him if he fail to do so, is against the generally accepted law of liberty, but it is nothing of the sort if it be admitted that our vagrant laws are just. Prevention of vagrancy is better than cure, and the imperative need of the savage is work in order to reclamation. In July, 1894, Mr. Rhodes said, in the House of Assembly, that there was a general feeling prevalent that natives were a distinct source of trouble and loss. He took an entirely different view. Their labour was of immense value. He himself was responsible to a great extent for the government of ten million natives, but did not feel any serious anxiety. Properly looked after and directed, the native was a source of wealth; but they must, for this purpose, be kept in their proper position. These people were increasing very fast, war and pestilence were no more, and there were now not fewer than 600,000 Kafirs in Transkeian territories. Hitherto we had provided nothing for natives to occupy their minds, while at the same time we placed canteens in their midst, and idle men will turn to liquor. In very many instances natives live in sloth and laziness; while we know very well that they are children, not able to deal with the general politics of the country. Their land must not be constantly subdivided, canteens ought to be removed from their midst, and a gentle stimulus in the direction of work supplied.

It was provided that there should be location Boards, and that each location possess 2700 morgen (5400 acres) of pasture, and about 300 morgen (600

acres) of arable land. Fifteen shillings per annum must be paid for each allotment, and the law of primogeniture was to prevail. The franchise could be exercised by any one entitled to it. Ten shillings per annum was fixed as the labour tax, from which those who went to work were exempt. All moneys paid should be expended for their own benefit, and industrial schools were to be established. Adverting to the necessity of saving the natives from the irresistible temptation of intoxicants, Mr. Rhodes referred to the fact that he had personally, at the Diamond Fields, assisted in making ten thousand of these children of nature hard-working and sober. They were now in "compounds," healthy and happy. In their former condition the place was a hell upon earth. Therefore his heart was thoroughly with the idea of removing liquor from the natives.

This new departure in native policy, embodied in the Glen Grey Bill, was assented to by a large majority in both Houses of Parliament. When moving the second reading in the Legislative Council, the Premier (Mr. Rhodes) said he held a strong view that for many long centuries to come they could never look upon the aboriginal natives as in any way upon an equality with themselves. They must be treated with fairness and consideration, but never on the basis of equality. To act differently would involve us in an absurdity similar to that of the Lord Mayor and Town Council of London turning up at Stonehenge, when the Druids were sacrificing, and discussing with them Local Option, Home Rule for Ireland, or the "three acres and a cow" question. In the past the natives had always been discussing the question of

killing each other. That, indeed, was a very interesting subject for the native mind. He spoke with some authority, as he had for twenty years studied the question at issue in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Matabeleland and elsewhere. Mr. Wilmot said that there was frequent difficulty in reconciling authority with liberty, but they must above all things be just. The four great objects to be gained by this Bill were (1) to give the natives interest in the land; (2) to allow the best men among them to attend to their local interests; (3) to remove the canteens; and (4) to give the natives a stimulus to labour. It was well known that the Prime Minister's view about depriving the natives of intoxicants was sound, and his successful compound policy proved it. To take away the drink curse was to liberate labour.

The scab disease among sheep was one of the greatest drawbacks to the progress of the Cape Colony. It would have been justly symbolic if the Chief Justice of the Colony had presided over the deliberations of the Legislative Council seated on the "wool sack," as wool had been for many years the Golden Fleece from which the Cape principally derived its income. Scab disease now desolated the flocks here, as well as in Australia. In the latter country the people grasped their nettle of difficulty, and completely extirpated the disease. In South Africa, unfortunately, there was a different class of people among whom the "demon of ignorance and prejudice" * ruled supreme. There was no more drought or difficulty here than in Australia, but it was impossible to get a large number of farmers to see

* Words of Sir Gordon Sprigg when alluding to the subject.

that their duty to themselves and to the country was to band together for the purpose of making and carrying out stringent laws for the extirpation of a disease which immensely reduced the value of their produce in European markets. The Government appointed a Scab Commission, and its constitution was fair to all parties. The labours of its members were carried on from 1892 to 1894, and their Report, with annexures, fills more than seven hundred pages. They found that "scab is prevalent to an alarming extent in the various sheep and goat flocks of the country, especially in the North-Western and Western districts, and causes enormous losses to the farming community, particularly in seasons of drought. . . . Thousands of sheep perished absolutely through the fact of their having been affected with scab, which would otherwise have survived, if they had been properly dipped in a reliable scab-destroying solution. . . . We consider that the amount of £500,000, which represents about the average of the different estimates, is not less than the yearly loss borne by the farmer of the Colony owing to the scab being prevalent in our flocks." Competing countries had been most industrious in stamping out scab. By commercial men, who understood the subject, it was estimated that in bad seasons, when scab is more prevalent, the Colony lost from £750,000 to £1,000,000.

The Dutch Government in 1693 and 1740 passed very stringent measures dealing with scab disease. In 1874 a Permissive Act was passed, and, in 1886, a Compulsory Bill, applicable only to the Eastern districts, became law ; while in 1891 an Act permitted

the Scab Regulations to be put in force in any division. The Scab Commission * propose that a system of legislation should be framed for the purpose of stamping out the disease. They incidentally say, "No less than 178 witnesses, including the most successful Scab Inspectors and many of the most intelligent and practical men engaged in sheep and goat husbandry, who were examined directly on this subject, and who collectively owned or managed flocks numbering over 540,000 sheep and goats, were unanimously in favour of compulsory general simultaneous dipping. To this number must be added that of a vast host of witnesses. . . . In every district of the Colony visited by your Commissioners evidence was advanced in favour of compulsory general simultaneous dipping, and we were forcibly struck by the fact that no evidence on this point was stronger or more lucid than that given in the Western and North-Western districts by farmers who felt, that without some combined action of this kind, their position was becoming hopeless."

The fiercest and most protracted debates followed the introduction of the Scab Bill, and the Act of 1894 † is very much emasculated. Common sense

* The members of the Scab Commission were the Hon. J. Frost, C.M.G., M.L.A., Minister of Agriculture; Hon. R. P. Botha, M.L.C.; J. P. du Toit, M.L.A.; Arthur Francis Thomas W. Smartt, A.R.C.I.; W. H. Hockley, M.L.A. The Commission appointing these gentlemen is dated October 17, 1892, and the Report is dated March 24, 1894. The evidence is voluminous and conclusive, the Report clear, definite, and incisive. Dr. Smartt's services in connection with the Commission and subsequent Scab Legislation were most valuable.

† The following is the division, Second Reading, Scab Act, Assembly, June 26, 1894. *Ayes* (47): Scanlen, Sivewright, Sprigg, Abrahamson, Beard, Berry, Brabant, Brown, Cresbie, De Waal, Douglass, J. P. du Plessis, Du Toit, Faure, Frost, Fuller, Haarhoff, Harris, Hay, Hutton, Innes, Jones, Juta, Laing, Lawrence, Merriman, J. C. Molteno, Norton,

absolutely necessitated drafting the law on the lines indicated in one of the best reports ever submitted to the Legislature ; but the dictates of common sense were not followed. A compromise had to be made, and the Act of 1894 is not nearly as drastic and efficient as it should be. Absurdities, for instance, were successfully introduced, such as giving farmers, who did not want the Act to be put in force, the right to elect their own inspectors. Nevertheless, weak though the measure was, compared with what it should have been, it was calculated to do some good. It was, however, still resisted. Session after session strong attempts were made to repeal it, and on one occasion, in 1895, an enormous deputation, representing hundreds of Dutch farmers, waited upon the Prime Minister, and earnestly called upon him to repeal the obnoxious statute.*

The Bills passed by the Colonial Parliament in 1893, although thirty-seven in number, were of an ordinary and routine character. The Minister of Agriculture Act was one of them, and under its provisions much has been done at great expense in connection with diseases of cattle and sheep,† fruit cultivation, and

Orpen, Pearson, Rhodes, Robertson, Sauer, Schermbrucker, Schreiner, Smartt, Smith, Smuts, Tamplin, Te Water, Theron, Vintcent, Warren, Wiener, Wood; J. T. Molteno and Palmer, *Tellers*. *Noes* (20): Dempers, Des Vages, De Villiers, De Wet, Immelman, Joubert, Kleyn, Le Roux, Marais, Olivier, Ryan, Steyn, Van der Vyver, Van Wyk, Van Zyl, Weber, Wege, Wolfaardt; *Tellers*, Louw and Van der Walt.

* Mr. Van der Heever, M.L.C., was the leader of the malcontents. The storm raged for some time with a good deal of fury, but the law has not been repealed, and it has effected a large amount of good, as shown by the reports of the Chief Inspector and his deputies. Sir P. Faure, the Agricultural Minister, had to stump the country to defend and explain the measure. It is noticeable that neither Englishmen nor natives objected to the law.

† A Bacteriological Department was established at Grahamstown, under Dr. Edington, for the purpose principally of investigating into the subject

kindred subjects. As the country, particularly in the Western districts, was suffering very much from want of agricultural labour, the usual course was followed of appointing a Commission,* which took evidence in an extensive manner, and presented an interesting report. The Commissioners declare positively that the labour supply of the Colony is not sufficient either in quality or quantity. "The fundamental cause of insufficiency of labour available for farm work, and to some extent for all work, lies in the conditions of life and population in South Africa. The mere necessities of life are few in this sunny country, and easily obtainable." There are many other subordinate reasons, one of which is unquestionably the demoralization of the aboriginal native by means of the unrestricted sale of intoxicants. The remedy suggested is, "That licensing courts be empowered by law to insert in all licences authorized by them, special provisions making it illegal to sell or supply liquor to any specified classes of the community, except under such conditions and restrictions as the Licensing Court may allow."†

of "heartwater" in sheep, which had been the principal means of almost entirely ruining prosperous sheep farms in Fort Beaufort, Albany, and adjacent divisions. South Africa suffers terribly from diseases among animals—horse-sickness, sheep diseases, and, last, rinderpest. A good staff of veterinary surgeons was appointed, agricultural school operations are conducted at Stellenbosch, and great activity prevails in connection with fruit-growing and other subjects. In connection with the general subject of farming in South Africa, an agricultural Professor from Edinburgh was invited to the Colony, and furnished a detailed report, in a work entitled "Farming Industries of Cape Colony," by Robert Wallace, F.A.S., etc.

* The Commission was appointed on the 22nd of February, 1893. Its members comprised the Hon. M. L. Neethling, M.L.C.; J. T. Molteno, M.L.A.; J. M. Orpen, M.L.A.; T. J. van der Walt, M.L.A.; Hon. A. J. Herholdt, M.L.C.; T. P. Theron, M.L.A.; Arthur Douglass, M.L.A. Mr. Herholdt was Chairman.

† It was principally to carry out this recommendation that the Innes Bill was introduced, giving power to Licensing Boards to indorse conditions

The subject of "poor whites" is alluded to, and we are told that among the principal causes of the existence of this class are the constant subdivision of land, the diminution of bullock waggon transport, and ostrich farming. Poor whites are not confined to any part of the country, and are to be found in towns. In some cases the evil has gone so far that the Rev. Mr. Muller states, "My experience is that they will rather go about the country and beg on the farms than go to work." Certainly the recommendations of this Report are disappointing, and show want of statesmanlike views. Hesitating suggestions about Kroomen and the importation of white servants are made, but it is not suggested that any Indian coolies or Asiatic should be imported, and there is nothing about a good broad stream of immigration from the congested countries of the world. A thorough knowledge of the subject, and the absence of any fear that the Dutch dominant class of farmers might be out-numbered, would probably have led to practical suggestions in connection with viticulturists from Italy and Portugal, as well as to recommendations for introducing agriculturists from England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Committees in both Houses of Parliament performed useful work by taking evidence, and reporting upon the management of the extensive system of railways, which had become a source of considerable revenue. These lines paid more than six per cent. on the cost of construction, and, if sold, would more than wipe out the entire debt of the Colony. This

and restrictions on licences. It was passed in 1898 and gives power to endorse restrictions on sales of intoxicants to Aborigines "short of total prohibition."

success is, of course, due to the fact that they are connected with rich mineral centres. The Report of the Legislative Council declares that railways should not be managed for the purpose of wringing out of the people large annual profits, as in the case of a joint-stock company. The dividends they principally desire are, the development and progress of the country, getting larger areas under cultivation, bettering and extending the railways, providing for feeding or branch lines—particularly wanted in a country without an internal system of water transport. These would considerably help producers and consumers, while adding to the revenue of the main-trunk system.

The East London Port long enjoyed the exceptional privilege of obtaining grants annually from the Treasury for its current harbour expenses, but the Legislative Council put an end to this state of matters, and compelled the Government to pass a Bill, assimilating the system at the Eastern Port to those at Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, by establishing a Harbour Board, which, by means of Wharfage dues and other revenue, was obliged to pay its current expenses as well as its annual interest. The Eastern Railway was peculiarly favoured at the expense of the general taxpayer, as, although its working expenses were much greater than those of the Midland Line, its mileage to Johannesburg was less, and therefore trade to the Transvaal was diverted to it by means of charging lower rates.* It must be admitted that

* The loss can be thus explained. Out of £100 paid for freight from Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg, about £50 went into the Treasury, as working expenses were not more on an average than 50 per cent. on the Midland Line. On the other hand, out of £100 paid for the carriage of

the system of charging per mile was established and recognized as applicable to all sections of Government railways.

The debts incurred on account of harbour works in Table Bay, Port Elizabeth, and East London, were reduced, and the Harbour Boards of these ports obtained loans on the security of the general government. The Docks at Cape Town were greatly enlarged, and, by means of dredging, the Buffalo River at East London was opened to large steamers; while in Algoa Bay improved jetties, hydraulic cranes, and other facilities were the means of making this port a convenient one, where landing and shipping are effected with the utmost despatch. The holding ground for ships at anchor is very good at Port Elizabeth, and the sea shallows for many miles outside the roadstead, so that there is really no danger for vessels properly found. Under these circumstances it has not been considered necessary to build a break-water in Algoa Bay.

On the occasion of the assembly, in 1894, of the first session of the ninth Parliament of the Colony, it became necessary to elect a Speaker, and the choice naturally fell upon Sir David Tennant, who had performed the duties of the office for many years faithfully and well. He was soon to be appointed Agent-General of the Colony, in succession

goods from East London to Johannesburg, only about £35 went into the Treasury, as working expenses on the Eastern Line were about 65 per cent. At this rate 15 per cent. of dead loss accrued when there was a diversion of over-sea goods for Johannesburg, from the Port of Algoa Bay to that of East London. Of course working expenses varied, but they were always much higher on the Eastern than on the Midland Line; while, according to the mileage rule, the rate of charge on goods carried by rail from East London to Johannesburg was less than from Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg.

to Sir Charles Mills, and to receive, as a recognition of his merits, a liberal pension, secured under Statute, to be received as soon as he ceased to remain in active service.

This does not seem an unfit time to refer to the retirement of another man from the arena of Parliamentary life. Mr. Hofmeyr long suffered from ill health, and he now found that his infirmities prevented his acceptance of a seat in the House of Assembly. Very influentially and numerous signed addresses were given to him on this occasion, and Mr. Rhodes took a prominent part in presenting them. Certainly there was no more representative man than "Onze Jan," as, in leading the Bond, he really governed the country. He was a patriot according to his lights—believed that there should be an Afrikaner nation, under a nominal and almost intangible Imperial rule, and, at the same time, looked forward to a virtual federation of States and Colonies, under a system which cannot find a better explanation than is given in the motto of the party, "Blood is thicker than water." Mr. Rhodes also wanted a federation. In his view an Empire leaning upon and partially built upon the South was to be formed; but blood was also thicker than water in this case, and he desired that there should be always real and substantial British supremacy. Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Hofmeyr were now friends and allies. We shall soon have to refer to occurrences which opened up a terrible gulf of separation between them.

Three events took place in 1894, which were of peculiar significance—the annexation of Pondoland to the Cape Colony; the formation of a convention

for handing Swaziland * over to the South African Republic ; and the extension of the Chartered Company's jurisdiction to the British province of Trans-Zambesi. The first of these was effected by statute, and caused a remarkable change in a country previously scourged by constant and fierce disputes between drunken and savage chiefs. Terrible strife, resulting in bloodshed, had continued for a lengthy period between the Pondo permanent chief, Sigcau, and his ex-Prime Minister, Umhlagaso. The most revolting atrocities were committed ; "smelling out," or murder by means of inhuman tortures, frequently took place ; and to a great extent all this was caused by the unrestricted sale of Cape brandy. Now there was a complete change. A strong force of the Cape Mounted Rifles kept order, dissensions and quarrels accompanied by crimes of violence were repressed, and the sale of intoxicants was prohibited.

The Afrikaner Bond held annually a very important congress, and it is instructive to notice the nature and character of its leading resolutions. In 1893 a proposal in favour of redistribution of seats was carried, and it is evident that the great unfairness of large constituencies being insufficiently represented was taken into consideration. The "poor

* Colonel Martin was the British Commissioner in Swaziland. In June, 1893, at a conference held in Pretoria, at which the High Commissioner was present, the convention of 1890 was extended to 1894. On November 14th, the full text of the new but temporary agreement was signed by President Kruger and Sir Henry Loch. Eventually Swaziland was ceded to the South African Republic, if the formal consent of the Swazi nation was secured. We must believe that this was obtained, as the South African Republic in due course annexed the territory which in a geographical point of view seemed to belong to them. By convention the rights of white people in Swaziland were protected, and it was arranged that they should have the right of becoming burghers of the Republic.

white " problem, always with them, should be solved by education. A new general Scab Act was approved, the purpose of which was to cause the least possible trouble to sheep-farmers, and to give special consideration to the dry North-Western districts. It ought to be noted, however, that the *anti-scab* party was even now becoming strong, and eventually dominated the Bond.

One subject which naturally greatly attracted the attention of Dutch politicians was the constant hereditary desire of trekking. To seek fresh fields and pastures new seemed part of the Boer nature. In 1893 a farmer named Bosman wished to lead "a trek" to the Kalahari, and hundreds were ready to go with him to a country described by many as an inhospitable waste. Mr. Rhodes despatched the Rev. A. Hofmeyr with a committee to inspect, and their report was not very favourable ; consequently only a few people settled in the best part of the Kalahari Desert ceded to the British South Africa Company. Others trekked to another part of Rhodesia, thus carrying out at the present day that pioneering system which commenced in the days of Van Riebeeck, and has done so very much to increase the area of white occupation in Africa.

The year 1895 was a memorable one so far as railways in South Africa are concerned, as the Delagoa Bay line was officially declared open in July, and the line from Natal to Johannesburg was practically completed in November. The Cape Colony was now the possessor of 2250 miles of railway, which paid so well that their value was estimated at no less a sum than thirty million pounds sterling. The chief source

of revenue on the great trunk lines was, of course, derived from the trade with the South African Republic. If that were crippled or seriously injured, then indeed would a most valuable asset fall lamentably in value, and the Cape citizens be required, by means of extra taxation, to make up the large sums required for interest on capital borrowed. The Netherlands Railway Company considerably increased their rates on the line from Vereeniging (Vaal River) to Johannesburg ; but as the distance was not great there was no difficulty in avoiding exorbitant charges by means of using waggon transport. Of course the object of the South African Republic was to get all goods imported into Delagoa Bay, and carried thence to Pretoria and Johannesburg, thus ruining the Cape trade with the Transvaal. The check given by the simple plan of employing waggons for the forty miles intervening between the Vaal River and Johannesburg was now put a stop to by the Government of the Transvaal declaring its intention to close the drifts and forbid any waggons with Cape Colony goods from going across. The threat was made in September, and carried into effect on the 1st of October, 1895. A dead lock resulted, but the High Commissioner had already intimated that this arbitrary action on the part of the South African Republic involved a breach of the thirteenth article of the London Convention. Mr. Rhodes addressed a kindly letter of remonstrance to Mr. Kruger. A storm of public opinion was evoked, but nothing seemed to move the President and his advisers. However, on the 30th of October, 1895, the Transvaal Government issued a special proclamation declaring that, in view of a conference to be held on

the 4th of November, the drifts should be re-opened from the 5th to the 15th of that month. The facts were in due course laid before the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and confidential communications * passed between him and the Government of the Cape Colony. Mr. Chamberlain concurred in the opinion that a breach of the London Convention had been committed, and was too experienced and able a man not to see that mere controversy would not do. He must be prepared to strike. In fact, he determined to put his foot down in earnest, if the Cape would co-operate by carrying troops free, and promising to pay half of the war expenses. This was agreed to by the Cape Cabinet, with the advice and consent of Mr. Schreiner, then Attorney-General. On the 3rd of November Mr. Chamberlain's ultimatum fell like a thunderbolt upon the South African Republic, as he then informed the President that it would not be competent for him to close the drifts after the 15th of November.

As soon as the Pretoria Government knew that war would result if submission were not made, they yielded with the best grace possible, and thus was frustrated the most unfriendly attempt of an Afrikaner State to cripple and seriously injure the trade of an adjacent country, most of whose people were of the same blood as themselves.

The Act for the annexation of Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony was passed in 1895. Mr. Rhodes, when introducing the measure, stated that the Imperial Government had expended £2,500,000 in

* These were strangely enough brought to light in Mr. Stead's Christmas Book of Mystery, in which Blastus the Chamberlain figures prominently.

the country, and that its annual revenue and expenditure amounted to £50,000 and £54,000 respectively. There were 60,000 aboriginals, and out of 51,000 square miles the natives' reserve of land comprised 4300 square miles. It was stipulated that the laws affecting the country were not to be altered before first ascertaining the views of Her Majesty's Government. This, no doubt, was arranged lest the Cape might desire to sell its alcoholic produce without restriction, and prefer Boer farmers to natives where the occupancy of land was concerned. Mr. Merriman declared that in this matter the Colony was, to use a vulgar expression, buying a pig in a poke. They did not know what concessions the country might be saddled with, nor their position with respect to the natives; besides, the session was too far advanced to enable them to deal adequately with such an important subject. It was clear that they were not to be allowed to deal with Bechuanaland as with the Cape, because the Imperial Government insisted upon some hampering conditions. Indeed, that was his chief objection, and he would only add that, if this were a sample of Joseph's way of dealing with his Colonial brethren, Pharaoh would be a better friend. He had always looked upon Mr. Chamberlain as a Liberal, but here he was striking at the very root of their liberty. If he tried any little dodge like that with an Australian legislature he would find his mistake. The Bill passed easily through both Houses, and clauses were incorporated in it providing that Bechuanaland should return one member to the Cape Legislative Council, and three to the House of Assembly.*

* One from Mafeking and two from Vryburg. Bechuanaland and the

Johannesburg's yield of gold, and the increase of the volume of imports and exports both in the Cape Colony and Natal, were contemporaneous. In 1891 the Cape imports amounted in value to eight million pounds sterling, and the exports to ten millions; in 1892 to nearly nine millions and eleven millions respectively; while in 1895 the value of imports rose to thirteen and a half millions, and those of exports to fourteen millions. Gold and diamonds were, of course, the means by which South Africa flourished; the coast States lived more by being carriers than agriculturists, the comparatively small industries of life were neglected, and mining interests, profits, and speculations were paramount. It is unnecessary to go through the figures of each yearly budget. Railways were with Customs the principal sources of income. The Cape Colony became essentially a dear country to live in, not merely because of a bad fiscal policy, but also, and very materially, in consequence of the neglect of irrigation, immigration, and the construction of light railways. There is abundance of fertile land in the Cape Colony, and a superabundance of water if conserved and utilized, but neither an adequately large white farming population of the right description, nor such means of inland transport as will enable producers to reach a market. Without navigable rivers and canals the country is really too poor to do without light railways,* and their introduction has

Bechuanaland Protectorate are the territories through which the line of railway from Kimberley to Buluwayo passes. These great stock countries have recently lost enormously from a visitation of rinderpest. The country comprises great undulating grassy plains; from Mafeking north-eastward large tracts of forest are traversed by the railway.

* A good scheme was brought forward for the construction of a light railway from Long Kloof to Port Elizabeth, which would enable large tracts of fertile country to be cultivated, and develop the resources of the

been advocated for years with very little success. The stupid hostility between people of Dutch and English extraction fostered by the Bond, as well as encouraged by numerous fiery British champions, has kept the country lamentably back; and until the dreadful shibboleths of party are heard of no longer, and the rage of hostile races has yielded to the gospel of common sense, the Cape Colony will continue to feed on the crumbs which fall from the mining centres, and a large portion of South Africa must remain more a field for political fights than for practical development.

A true note of just and sound fiscal policy was struck when Mr. Sauer moved, in the session of 1895, that, at the next conference with the Orange Free State, the Cape Colony shall arrange to be free to impose an excise on spirits, and that the tax on diamonds question be considered, so as to leave its imposition possible if hereafter deemed advisable by the legislative parties of the union.* The defeat of the motion was very significant. The Bond policy was triumphant, and Mr. Rhodes with Sir Gordon Sprigg and his special followers were its supporters. It was an opportunist policy, and each side, thinking it was using the other, remained content. No doubt, earthquakes, tornadoes, and other cataclysms of nature have uses which we do not understand. By analogy we may say that one of those was now to occur in South

Zitzekama Forest. This was approved of by the Commissioner of Public Works. Special detailed reference is made to this line, and invaluable general information furnished, in "Light Railways for the United Kingdom, India, and the Colonies," by John Charles Mackay, F.G.S., A.M., Inst. C.E., London, 1896.

* The motion was lost. Noes, 37; ayes, 20. The latter comprised Messrs. Beard, Brabant, Brown, De Wet, Hay, Innes, Jones, Joubert, Merriman, Palmer, Robertson, Ryan, Sauer, Smuts, Tamplin, Warren, Wiener. Tellers: J. T. Molteno and Dr. Smartt.

African politics, and out of its evil and sufferings we will see that some good arose. Certainly parties became clearly defined and opportunism ended.

Railways were so successful that good arguments could easily be found for their extension, and a new departure was taken when a scheme for subsidizing lines by grants of £2000 and £1500 per mile received the assent of both Houses of Parliament. The latter amount was guaranteed for a railway to be constructed from Somerset East to Cook House, and thence, *viâ* Bedford, Fort Beaufort, and Alice, to King Williams Town; but, unfortunately, the successful tenderer was unable to raise sufficient funds, and incomplete works with threatened lawsuits were the consequences. £2000 per mile subsidy for a line from Mossel Bay, *viâ* George, to Oudtshoorn was not found a sufficient bait; but the railway from the last-mentioned place to Klipplaats (Graaff Reinet Line) was commenced, and eventually carried to completion. In this way relief was given to a valuable portion of the South-Western districts, but Mossel Bay was entirely left out in the cold, and contrary to its interests a junction was made which not only connects Oudtshoorn with the north, but with Port Elizabeth.

On the eve of very grave events the sun of prosperity shone brightly. Exports had increased to thirteen and a quarter millions in value, and imports to eleven and a quarter millions. The Colony was too flourishing to trouble itself with minor industries, and the humdrum development of agricultural and pastoral resources. The Public Debt amounted to £27,669,000 * and its interest to £1,092,000 per

* Out of this amount no less than £19,349,000 were spent on

annum, but then the railway paid well, and comprised an asset sufficient to wipe out the debt. The credit of the country stood so high in England that its $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock was quoted at 114. The usual surplus existed of revenue over expenditure. The drifts question, we have seen, was settled satisfactorily, and there was scarcely a cloud visible on the political horizon. It was the calm before the storm.

It is now necessary to pass in review several subjects of a detached character which could not easily be referred to in the preceding political narrative.

Soon after the arrival of Dr. Gill, the present Astronomer Royal, he impressed upon the Governor of the day the necessity of a geodetic survey of the Cape Colony. It was obvious that whatever survey was adopted, so long as it began from the small and extended to the large, instead of going from the large to the small, the result would be that, when finally the separate surveys were pieced together, deficits and overlaps would appear, giving rise to a fruitful crop of lawsuits. The only method was to proceed from an accurately measured base line by a general triangulation covering more or less the whole country, and checked at various distance-points by return to another base line. Natal agreed to join. The original base line was measured in that Colony, and the second base line in Port Elizabeth; and so accurately was the work performed that the length of the Port Elizabeth base line, as calculated from the Natal base line, through the 450 miles of intervening triangulation, differed by less than two inches from its reproductive works, including railways, bridges, and telegraphs, and £2,265,000 on harbours. The railway at this time employed more than 10,000 persons.

directly measured length. The great work was only one of those in which the Astronomer Royal was engaged. His photography of the heavens as seen from the Cape Observatory furnishes astronomical science with stellar maps of great magnitude and importance.

In geological science Professor Seeley made discoveries by means of which museums were enriched, so far as their palæontological collections are concerned, by the skeletons of great Saurians who lived on the shores of lakes which once occupied the vast Karoo plains of the Colony.

In education, the Cape University immensely stimulated progress by means of its examinations ; but when, in 1891, Mr. Rhodes made an offer to endow a teaching University, the jealousies of rival institutions, and other reasons, prevented its acceptance. The establishment of Schools of mines * was a new departure which ought to be noted, as by means of these institutions pupils can now be trained within South Africa, in the best and most practical manner, for the profession of mining engineer.

Exhibitions are presumed to be educational. The principal have been those of Port Elizabeth, 1885 ; " Queen's Jubilee," † Grahamstown, 1887 ; and Kimberley, 1895. The two former paid expenses, returned

* One of the great advantages of South African schools of mines is that students can study practically at De Beer's Consolidated Mines in Kimberley. There is a school of mines connected with the South African College, and another at St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, as well as one in Kimberley.

† A handsome statue of the Queen was, in 1890, placed in front of the Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, to commemorate Her Majesty's Jubilee reign.

The Cape Colony was well represented at the great Chicago Exhibition, when Mr. Wiener, M.L.A., acted as Commissioner.

their money to guarantors, and were able to devote surplus funds to useful purposes. The last was a disastrous financial failure, in consequence of reckless extravagance. The entire guaranteed amount of £15,000 was swallowed up, and De Beer's Company as well as the Colonial Government came to the rescue. Here there seems to have been dishonesty, as well as bad management, because the actual receipts at this Exhibition exceeded the estimated revenue.

In ecclesiastical matters there is little to record. The Dutch Reformed Church Synod, Cape Town, celebrated its "Pulpit Centenary" in 1889, and periodically held its normal Assemblies. We are not able to record that the subject of the systematic demoralization of the aboriginal natives by means of the brandy made in the Western districts received that attention which the subject demands. The Stellenbosch Theological Seminary has been apparently more engaged in controversies than in any wide attempts to ameliorate the condition of the subject people of the soil. Of course it must be admitted that the Dutch Reformed Clergy suffer from very obvious and serious difficulties connected with the business and opinions of the people among whom they live. They were, however, in favour of preventing any drink traffic on Sundays, and it was mainly through their influence that Mr. Barnato's Bill, providing for a similar law to that prevailing in England, was defeated.

The Anglican community greatly extended its influence, missions, and centres of authority. The Archbishopric of Cape Town was created, and various

new missionary bishoprics instituted. Wesleyan missionaries have most earnestly tried to promote the disuse of intoxicants among aboriginal natives. They clearly saw that use and abuse are synonymous terms, that the native drinks to get drunk, and that his ruin and demoralization are in course of taking place by means of the unrestricted sale of brandy. The Wesleyan missionary has always been an uncompromising enemy to the drink traffic. So far as the instruction and training of natives are concerned, great lessons are taught by the large Trappist establishments in Natal and Transkeian territory. Their plan is that of primarily and principally bringing up the coloured people to be agriculturists and work in the fields. Comparatively few are taught trades, while book learning is confined to very elementary teaching. Of course religion permeates and dominates all instruction.

Telegraph communication has been well attended to. Internal lines, many of which cannot pay, traverse all parts of a sparsely peopled country; while Mr. Rhodes pushes a line upwards through Southern Africa, destined eventually to connect Cape Town with Cairo. The Eastern submarine cable was, fortunately, not to be the only one between South Africa and Europe, as in 1889 the shore end of the Western cable to St. Paul de Loando was laid. The link we now require is a British cable *via* the Islands. As is well known, there is no greater deterrent to crime than the telegraph, because it is so pre-eminently the means of detecting it,—but circumstances have always existed in South Africa which seem to render robbery on a large scale

comparatively easy. Our diamonds used to travel hundreds of miles unguarded over vast solitary plains, and yet robbery under arms was almost unheard of. When all the precious gems had to be sent by train, one daring attempt was made in 1890 to rob the safe while the mail van was proceeding from Kimberley to Cape Town. A seat was found rigged up under the carriage, and a cutting was discovered of two feet in length, by one foot in breadth. This daring robber, whose praises have not yet been sung by any Ralph Boldrewood, broke his drill, and a scheme which might have resulted in the capture of diamonds worth £22,000 completely collapsed. Coach transport has presented greater facilities, and in the year 1895 the sum of £12,000, in sovereigns, was stolen from the mail coach between Pietersburg and Bulawayo. But here again there was no highwayman, but merely the quiet and astute thief.

We must now, before concluding this chapter, present a few sketches of some of the best-known men of the day, who passed away between the years 1889 and 1895.

The Honourable Charles Brownlee, C.M.G., who died in 1890, entered the Cape Service in 1846, as Interpreter to Sir Harry Smith, for which his thorough knowledge of the Kafir language made him very competent. He was subsequently attached to the Burgher forces, and at the close of the war appointed Commissioner to the Gaika tribes. He was wounded in the war of 1851, and warmly eulogised by Sir George Cathcart for services rendered. During the cattle-killing of 1856 Brownlee's unwearied

efforts to restrain the Gaikas from slaughtering their oxen delayed the movement until the Gcalekas were starving and scattered. Consequently the combined attack on the Colony was rendered impossible.

Mr. Brownlee received the appointment of Civil Commissioner of Somerset East in 1868, and was promoted to King Williams Town in June, 1871. Upon the establishment of responsible Government he became the first Secretary for Native Affairs, and held that office from 1872 to 1878. He was then appointed "Chief Commissioner" and afterwards Chief Magistrate of Griqualand East. Both Houses of Parliament concurred in the following resolution, passed by the House of Assembly in July, 1885 : "That in consideration of the long, valuable, and faithful services of the Honourable Charles Brownlee, C.M.G.; his devotion to duty often at the risk of his life, and sacrificing his health during a period of nearly forty years; and taking into account the present condition of his health, whereby he is disabled from continuing to serve the Colony: this House accords its appreciation of those valuable services and devotion to the public interests." He died in the country he had so long and faithfully served, deservedly loved and respected by the entire community.

Another good and faithful servant of the Colony passed away in 1889—Captain Matthew Smyth Blyth, C.M.G.,* who was appointed British Resident of Fingoland in 1869, Chief Magistrate of East

* Before joining the Cape Service Captain Blyth served in the 73rd Regiment from 1853, and was in India during the mutiny. He subsequently joined the 3rd West India Regiment in British Honduras, and for some time acted as Secretary to the Governor of that Colony.

Griqualand in 1876, Chief Magistrate of Transkei in September, 1878, and acting Governor's Agent in Basutoland in 1883. He handed the last-mentioned country over to the Imperial Authorities in March, 1884, and then resumed his duties as Chief Magistrate of the Transkei. Few men have ever been more successful as a Native ruler, for this in actuality he was. The Fingoes thoroughly trusted and loved him, consequently he was a power for good among them, and public works were generously subscribed to, while in agriculture and the arts of peace most satisfactory progress was made. He was a model Native Administrator, and united such qualities of tact and prudence as eminently to qualify him for the responsible positions he held.

Another man who died in 1889 deserves special reference, because he was the father of the penny newspaper in South Africa. This was William Foster, at one time member of the House of Assembly for Numaqualand. He was a statistician of eminence and a "pressman," who carried on the *Cape Standard* for some time in Conservative interests, and first launched a newspaper sold for one penny.

George William Aitchison, Postmaster-General of the Cape Colony, was one of the best types of the permanent official whose industry, combined with integrity, oils the wheels of the machine of State, regulates its methodical action, and enables it effectually to carry out the purposes for which it is intended. He began life as a schoolmaster in Dr. Changuion's school in Cape Town, when Roderick Noble was one of the teachers. Aitchison entered the public service by being appointed a junior clerk

in the General Post Office, Cape Town, on the 1st of October, 1850; subsequently served in the Audit Office; was appointed Secretary and Accountant to the Post Office on the 18th of July, 1857; and having served for some years as Civil Commissioner and Magistrate at Tulbagh, was appointed Postmaster-General in November, 1873. Those were still the days of Post carts, when mails were carried immense distances in vehicles which, travelling night and day, had to cross swollen rivers, and travel on bad roads over mountains and deserts. More than £40,000 per annum was paid for this primitive system of conveying Her Majesty's mails through a sparsely peopled country, intersected with mountain ranges and traversed by unbridged rivers. Great knowledge and tact were required to manage a department where the great facilities obtained by steam were only partially existent, and Mr. Aitchison performed his duties well. He never visited Europe, but yet with tact and discretion applied necessary improvements to the Colonial Post Office, and assumed control of the united departments of the Post and Telegraph, when amalgamated in February, 1885. Mr. Sive-wright (afterwards Sir James Sivewright), the able head of the latter, retired on a pension. Mr. Aitchison was entirely devoted to the performance of duty, and rather prematurely, in harness and at work, ended a useful life in January, 1892. He was succeeded in office by Mr. French, whose experience in the English Postal and Telegraph Services had been the means of introducing considerable improvements.

A well-known figure in the Colony passed away in the year 1893. James David Ricards was born in

Wexford, Ireland, on the 10th of January, 1828, and died in 1893, at Grahamstown. Being destined for the Church, he was sent at an early age to St. Peter's College, Wexford, and thence to Maynooth. In 1849 he was ordained a sub-deacon, and volunteered to go out to the Cape with Dr. Devereux, the newly appointed Bishop of the Eastern Districts. After a very tedious voyage of three months, he arrived just previous to the Kafir War of 1850-51, when he was ordained Priest and appointed Roman Catholic Chaplain to the forces on the frontier. Father Ricards was stationed at Grahamstown, and had indeed multifarious duties to perform. He was pastor, school-master, editor of the *Colonist* newspaper, writer of amateur plays for schools, lecturer, and public reader. In every one of these avocations he was successful, and it could be justly said of him, as it was of his countryman Goldsmith, that he attempted many things, and touched nothing which he did not adorn. In June, 1871, Father Ricards was consecrated Bishop in succession to Dr. Moran, who was transferred to Dunedin in New Zealand. His great desire for the extension of education and missionary enterprise prompted him to establish Marist schools, and the Jesuit College of St. Aidan's in Grahamstown, as well as a Trappist institution on the banks of the Sunday River. This last failed because Dunbrody Farm was not suitable for agriculture, and the Brothers went to Natal, whence from the comparative acorn of their first establishment a large and flourishing tree with many branches has grown up.

Both as a lecturer and a scientific man, Dr. Ricards was distinguished, and in the domain of

theological controversy is known as the author of more than one book.* He worked most energetically, travelling through Europe to collect men and money, originating schemes which developed into great missionary and educational works; and "spending himself" untiredly, with immense devotion and ability, in the cause of religion. The Nazareth Sisters were first brought out by him for Port Elizabeth, and it was under his authority and directions that Dominican Nuns went forth from the mother house at King William's Town to establish branch convents at Potchefstroom and at Oakford Natal, as well as hospitals in Macloutsie, Victoria, and Salisbury, in Rhodesia. When in his last illness, gazing over the waves of the Indian Ocean from Port Alfred, Bishop Ricards received a message, saying, "Four Sisters wanted immediately; war in Mashonaland," the last words he ever wrote comprised the reply, "Four Sisters may go." His biographer, after describing his Christian death, says, "Thus was this great soul carried away, attempting much, risking all; trusting that the Church, and God who guides it, would in the future 'perfect all things,' and build largely on the deep foundations laid in his time. It is only then that the work and life of Bishop Ricards will be seen in their true perspective."†

* He was nominated as "Dignissimus" by the Canons of the Cathedral for the Bishopric of Ferns, in which diocese Wexford is situated, but it was considered at Rome that he would be more useful in South Africa.

† Dr. Strobino, who was created Bishop coadjutor at Port Elizabeth on the 1st of November, 1891, was an Italian, who during his short life gained the respect and admiration of his people for great piety and wisdom. He succeeded Bishop Ricards, but, after suffering from severe illness for years, died at Graaff Reinet in 1896. He was succeeded by the Most Revd. Dr. MacSherry. In referring to well-known men who have passed away, it is only right to advert to the career of a well-known editor of one

Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., etc., died in harness, as Agent-General of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1895; and although millions of money necessarily passed through his hands, accompanied by numerous and insidious temptations, he remained a very poor man at the hour of his death. These words themselves comprise a laudatory inscription. Certainly no more able or devoted officer ever served the Cape Colony, and his social qualifications and success in London added considerably to the advantages obtained by means of his business qualifications. A detailed biography of Sir Charles Mills may yet be published, and then will be disclosed some of the particulars of one of the most romantic careers of modern times. That he was connected either with Royalty or one of the most noble families in England is almost certain, but no attempt to furnish particulars would at present be discreet. Mills ran away when a youth, and enlisted in the army as a private; subsequently we find that he served in the 98th Foot, and on the staff of H.M. Army in China, India, and Turkey, from 1843 to 1856.

of the leading papers in the Colony. The name of Mr. George Impey, who died at Port Elizabeth in 1894, deserves mention, as he was long and honourably connected with the press of the Cape Colony as editor of the *Eastern Province Herald*. He was an Englishman who came out when a young man to the Colony, and became known as an excellent, conscientious teacher. His brother was superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, and he himself was one of a large family scattered over the Eastern districts. In the early fifties Mr. Impey became one of the firm which owned the *Port Elizabeth Herald*, and he was editor from that period until the day of his death. Scrupulous truthfulness and honourable impartiality were marked features in his character, and although not a brilliant writer, he was painstaking and thoroughly reliable. His journal became a commercial organ of wide circulation. Mr. Impey was at one time invited to go to the House of Assembly as one of the members for Port Elizabeth. He was a great favourite in the town, where he had resided so many years, and among the pressmen of the Colony so highly respected that a monument erected by them commemorates their friendship.

He then appears as Staff Officer of the German troops sent as military settlers to the Cape of Good Hope in 1857. One of the most useful and successful works he ever performed was arranging the settlement of these people in such a manner as to satisfy both themselves and the Colonial Government.* He was appointed Sheriff and, subsequently, Government Secretary of British Kaffraria. Then there was annexation to the Cape Colony, and Mills was elected one of the members of the House of Assembly for King William's Town. Sir P. E. Wodehouse perceived his ability—perhaps even he may have received a hint from England—and appointed Captain Mills to a vacancy in the Colonial Office, from which he rose, in 1872, to be Under Colonial Secretary. The duties of this office were performed with marked zeal and ability. In fact, in details, he virtually ruled the Colony. On the 1st of October, 1882, Captain Mills, C.B., C.M.G. (afterwards Sir Charles Mills), became Agent-General in London, and until 1895 performed the duties of the office so as to give the utmost satisfaction to the people and the Government whom he had so long and so faithfully served. He died suddenly in London, and was succeeded in office by Sir David Tennant, Speaker of the Cape House of Assembly.

* He used sometimes to refer to the manner in which this work was done, and looked upon it as his *magnum opus*. The settlers were industrious, and secured prosperity not only to their descendants but to the frontier districts. Sir Charles Mills was eminently a society man in London. Sir Bartle Frere's influence obtained him membership of the Athenæum Club, and he counted among his friends many of the leading men and nobility of England.

CHAPTER III.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE—THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC—THE GRIEVANCES OF THE "UITLANDERS"—BEFORE THE STORM.

THE Orange Free State has with justice been always considered a model Republic, and as a proof of this fact its annals are incontestably dull. Mr. Reitz became its President* in 1889, and was blessed by the assistance of a Raad of fifty-six members, whose leading feature is rather respectability than brilliancy. There are few in this Assembly who can charm an attentive Senate, but many whose knowledge and common sense enable them to legislate and carry on State affairs in a sensible and successful manner. In 1889-90 the Orange Free State revenue amounted to £272,000, and its expenditure only reached the sum of £174,000. Its population consisted of 70,000 whites and 67,000 coloured people. Of the former no fewer than 54,000 belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. So far as defence is concerned, each able-

* Elected 18th of December, 1888, and took oath of office on 10th of January, 1889. His salary was £3000 per annum. The Government Secretary received £900, Treasurer-General £750, Auditor-General £600, Chief Justice £1400, Attorney-General £700. The Burghers of the Orange Free State are declared to be whites who are born within the Orange Free State, whites who have lived one year in the Free State and own property to the amount of £150, and whites who, having resided for three years in the country, possess a good-conduct certificate and engage to respect the laws of the State.

bodied man, between the ages of eighteen and sixty, can be called out for Commando duty in time of war.

At a Conference held at Potchefstroom in March, 1889, under the authority of resolutions passed by the Volksraads of the two Republics, it was agreed that no railways should be constructed connecting their lines with other countries except after consultation, and with due consideration to mutual interests. Then came a treaty of amity and commerce. Burghers of each State were to be admitted to the other with equal rights, and the produce of each State to be sent free into the other. By what was styled a "political treaty," it was agreed that "the Orange Free State and South African Republic bind themselves mutually to assist each other with all power and means whenever the independence of one of the two States shall be threatened or assailed from without, unless the State which has to render the assistance shall show the injustice of the cause of the other State." On the occasion of this Conference a close federal union between the States was evidently the aim of President Kruger, but here he was greatly disappointed. The preceding "meagre undertaking" was only resolved upon, and the following resolution was added: "That this Conference, considering that the resolutions of the Volksraad of the South African Republic taken with regard to this matter have not been submitted to the Volksraad of the Orange Free State, resolves with reference to the minutes of the discussions to report to the respective Volksraads of both States that after discussion of the subject of federal union no decision has been derived there-
anent."

The Orange Free State is in a happy medium position. The railway from the Cape Colony to the new El Dorado must necessarily pass through its territory ; for its commerce it was wooed by several ports ; and the Transvaal, as well as the Cape Colony and Natal, for various reasons desired its friendship. At one time its demand for a share of customs dues collected at the ports was laughed to scorn, but now, under the union agreed to in 1889, the Free State share for nine months was no less a sum than £74,000. In December, 1890, the Raad agreed to extension of the railway to Viljoens Drift on the banks of the Vaal River, and there were excellent reasons for this decision.* The line was constructed entirely at the expense and risk of the Cape Colony, while half its nett profits were paid to the Free State, and this Republic retained to itself the power, eventually exercised, of taking over the line at the cost price of £5500 per mile.

The people of Dutch extraction in the Orange Free State are much superior in education and advancement to the Boers of the South African Republic, as

* A Railway Convention between the Orange Free State and the Cape Colony was signed at Bloemfontein on the 11th of June, and at Cape Town on the 19th of June, 1889. There was a subsequent convention of 23rd December, 1890. The Orange Free State got its main trunk line made for nothing, and without risk drew half the profits, and eventually took it over as a good going concern at original cost price. It was arranged that railway workshops should be established in Bloemfontein. Numerous applications for railway concessions were referred by the Raad to a Committee, which recommended the following lines : (a) Harrismith, *viâ* Bethlehem, to a junction with the main line near Kroonstad ; (b) from Kroonstad to Vierfontein Coal-mines, with extension thence to Klerksdorp Drift on the Vaal River ; (c) from Bethlehem to Ficksburg, Lady Brand, and Bloemfontein, with branch from Thaba Nchu to Jammersburg Drift ; (d) from Springfontein, *viâ* Jagersfontein, Fauresmith and Emmaus, to Kimberley, with branch from Emmaus to Bloemfontein. The Raad adopted one line only—the Vierfontein Coal Line.

their educational and other advantages have been much greater. The Raad in Bloemfontein has performed its legislative duties well : freedom of religion always has prevailed, and fair sensible laws have been enacted. As brandy is not made within the territories of the Republic, restrictive laws affecting the sale of intoxicants to natives exist. Canteens are not dotted along the main roads, but are confined to places where they can be under police supervision. Vagrancy is subdued without unnecessary harshness, and the laws of the franchise are consonant to the principles which should regulate a free State. Certainly the people sympathized with " Afrikaner " aspirations, and no doubt agreed with Mr. Advocate Esselen when he said, " The Afrikaner people have been the pioneers in the past, and should be in the future. He strongly disapproved of any policy to deprive the Transvaal and Afrikaners of their birth-right, the extension of their territory even to the Zambesi."

Its fortunate central position gained for the Orange Free State unfettered trade with the Transvaal,* as well as the important railway advantages already referred to. The diamond mines at Jagersfontein proved very successful, and coal seams were discovered, but so far as mineral treasures are concerned, the Free State is only in the position of a poor relation to the South African Republic. " Blood is thicker than water " was, previous to the raid, a

* The Bloemfontein Government was careful to keep the Transvaal trade intact. In the Orange Free State Volksraad in 1894, special measures were taken for the marking of Basutoland grain on crossing the border, to prevent it passing free into the Transvaal as Free State grain.

somewhat subdued sentiment, and to live in peace with all, while making the most of its advantages, was the sensible policy of this little State.

We must now turn our attention to the greater Republic, where, in the early part of 1890, the first census was taken, which alarmed the Government by showing that the "Uitlanders," or persons resident in the State of foreign birth, had immensely increased in number. They were not merely numerically nearly as strong as the farmers, but were so gifted with riches, education, and energy as to make the permanence of Boer authority very doubtful. These facts are the key to a knowledge of the political history of the Transvaal.

On the one hand we have Paul Kruger and the Conservatives, who love their old-fashioned institutions, and desire to preserve them; while on the other side are men from Europe, accustomed to liberty, and desirous of obtaining it.

The company promotion of 1888 and 1889, accompanied by much inflation and swindling, caused depression, which was only overcome by the triumphant success of the Rand Mines. In 1891 no less than 729,000 ounces of gold were produced, and in 1892 the output reached 1,210,000 ounces. There were, of course, all descriptions of mines. The very successful ones were floated at high figures, and these, as well as those of a fairly good character, could be made to pay under many disadvantages; but for the poorer description, and they were numerous, cheaper means of production, including lower cost of transport, of explosives, and of labour, were absolutely necessary in order that they might

be worked.* If an enlightened Government had ruled the country this would have been practically recognized, for the benefit of all its people—farmers as well as dwellers in Johannesburg. Unfortunately, however, President Kruger was a Pharaoh who never knew the Joseph of the mining industry, upon which, as upon a base, the entire prosperity of the country rested.

One of the leading organs of public opinion,† referring in 1889 to the position of affairs in the Transvaal, declares, “The more débris which accumulates during flood time round the piers of a bridge the greater is the danger of the bridge being swept away. The débris which the Transvaal Government, in the shape of imperfect laws, imperfect government, and imperfect reforms, allows to gather round the piers of their bridge will gather up their waters until the bridge will totter and be finally swept away, carrying President and Executive in the ruin. We should think that man insane, whose child’s plate is empty, and to whom, on crying for more food, he should merely give another plate as empty as the

* At first the fever of speculation made every one indifferent to politics. “The South African fever raged in full frenzy. . . . Some are land companies, some combine promotion of other companies with mining on their own account. Some are trusts, some syndicates, and a large number mining undertakings pure and simple. Shares in a large number are eagerly bought at a premium.” So little did the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie think of the Government of the S. A. Republic that, referring to Swaziland, “he thought it impossible for an English Commissioner to hand over a large native population, as well as a considerable number of Englishmen settled in Swaziland, to a Republic in which, not merely natives, but Englishmen are treated as vassals, and not as citizens.” In 1890 nearly every week a long list of concessions granted appears in the *Staats Courant*. At this time it was said that the Hollander Secretary of State wished to people Zoutspanberg and part of Waterberg district with Hollanders.

† *The Cape Times*.

first in the expectation of satisfying her wants. This is precisely what Paul Kruger and his learned advisers have done." This shows the drift of public opinion, at least among a very large portion of the educated people of South Africa. Of course, on the other hand, it was maintained that the independence of the Boers would be sacrificed if they granted the franchise to the Uitlanders, and that time was necessary for people of a primitive description to learn the modern arts of government. President Brand would have said, "Give them time, and 'alles zal recht komen.'" Political difficulties were certainly aggravated by educated Hollanders being appointed to many of the offices of State. Dr. Leyds, the Secretary, was one of these, and they invariably opposed the political aspirations of the Uitlanders. Then, undoubtedly, there was in the Cape Colony a race feeling which almost seemed to make loyalty to the British connection secondary to Afrikaner race feelings, expressed by *De Zuid Afrikaan* when it said, "He who wishes to forward the union of South Africa avoids asking under what flag that union will take place."* We are informed at the same time that the Transvaal and Orange Free State Raad Committees are agreed that "the federating States must constitute one indivisible Republic." "The United States of South Africa" began, in fact, to loom in the imaginations of Afrikaner patriots. At the same time, the governing portion of the people

* The Dutch papers in South Africa have frequently used strong language. *De Patriot*, for instance, tells us that "the Afrikaner party have again been merely humbugged. The railway from Kimberley was proposed mainly to give opportunities to England of carrying out schemes into the interior of Africa, and of building a wall round the Transvaal."

of the South African Republic never evinced the least generosity towards their brethren in the Cape Colony. There was no free trade, while enmity and petty jealousy existed, and Hollanders were preferred to educated Dutch Afrikaners from the Cape Colony.

With extraordinary narrowness and jealousy every Uitlander, unless he came from Holland, was constantly looked upon with suspicion. Under a Republic he was completely shut out from the franchise, although compelled to bear the principal burdens of the State. What was styled the Dutch language was paramount, and English received no recognition. This was applied as far as possible to education, as well as to the law courts, the Raads, and the public offices. Corruption was flagrant among legislators and officials.* Concessions were obtained by bribes, and, as a consequence, monopolies increased; while the laws of the country were imperfect and badly administered. No wonder there was discontent, and that an association was formed to obtain reforms by constitutional means. But all efforts, no matter how legally conducted, were derided. For instance, when there was a mining depression, the following language was used in one of the "patriotic" newspapers:

* The Selati Railway concession, granted in 1890, was a fruitful occasion for corruption, and a long list of members of the Raad, and the amounts of their bribes, have been published. The Sanitary scandals caused a commission to be appointed in 1891. Revelations were made concerning specific bribes given to officials, by means of which the public was robbed. One man received £250, another £300. In one case the contractor ostensibly sold 3910 pails, but it was proved that his whole stock only comprised 1653 pails. One of the concessions granted to Mr. Nelmapius was for the manufacture of spirits, and full advantage was taken of it. In 1893 there were revelations about a sale of stands for £8000, which should have realized £37,000.

"The worshippers of Mammon are only too ready, like the mongrel cur, to give tongue when struck with the whip of adversity, but let the stream of foreign capital, led into the country by channels oft fouler than fair, resume its former strength, and the flag-tearing and wall-demolishing lads will be as modest and demure as mules. Men of that class have not the courage to join in anything more dangerous than sacking a pawn-shop or canteen." It must be admitted that there was always a small opposition, including such men as Lucas Meyer, Carl Jeppe, Paul Mare, and Loveday, who endeavoured, in many cases, to carry out the principles of liberty and justice.

In March, 1890, the Political Reform Association was established, with the object of obtaining extension of franchise, railway communication, reduction of taxation, and prevention of monopolies. At the same time petitions were sent from Catholics and Jews, praying to be relieved from disabilities. The First Raad had alone any power. "Stet nominis umbra" would be a suitable motto for the Second Chamber—of both it was declared that the members of these legislative bodies, unlike St. Paul, were mad with too little learning. Their ignorance and prejudice were absolutely phenomenal, and the revelations of the Selati concession, as well as other evidence, shows them to have been as corrupt as they were illiterate.

Occasionally some little hope was given to the Uitlanders: for instance, in 1890, when the President was apparently in good humour because the Raad had approved of a railway line from the Portuguese

border *viâ* Johannesburg to the Vaal River, His Honour declared that he intended to do something for the new-comers, who would receive the same benefits as other burghers of the State. Something would be done in the matter of the franchise. The Railway tax had been reduced, and they also intended to lessen the Diggers' and Prospectors' licence fees. He hoped all people in the Transvaal would in future call themselves Afrikanders, and thus various nationalities would become merged in one people. "Brave words," no doubt, but only words really not intended to mean anything, as the sequel abundantly proved. A vote of £10,000 for "secret service money" was shortly afterwards passed.*

The Netherlands Railway Company was always a favoured institution, which charged what it liked; and a system of bribery and corruption prevailed in high places,† which made a monopoly of the sale of dynamite easy.‡ The Chamber of Mines in

* £39,000 had been spent in the previous year "for secret service." Unchecked expenditure has continually been poured out of the public Treasury under this head.

† There is no doubt whatever about bribes being given and accepted. In fact, on one occasion, President Kruger justified the acceptance of presents of "Spiders," carriages, etc., by Raad members. Mining Companies had to bribe officials, and we have already shown that bribes were taken by members of the Legislature.

‡ The Netherlands Railway concession was a matter of high politics, which did not concern any but burghers, and therefore the President would receive no representation from Uitlanders on the subject. It is said that Dr. Leyds was sent out as a secret agent of the Concessionaires. In the Netherlands Railway Company, floated in 1887, the shares were divided as follows: Germany 819, Holland 581, and the Republic only 600. The Hollanders, out of 112 votes, secured a majority. £124,000 appears to have been spent before the work began. It is stated that contractors received £23,500 per mile for work which should have been executed for £8000 per mile, and no fewer than a thousand Hollanders were sent out from Holland—at the same time dressed stone was sent out from Europe for the Komati Bridge. The Republic suffered heavily through the rapacity of the Company, and no less than 8½d. per ton per mile was

Johannesburg did its duty to the utmost by strongly and persistently protesting against this last-mentioned abuse, and with some effect, as the contract made with Mr. Lippert was cancelled; but, subsequently, in another form, a dynamite monopoly was revived

charged for the conveyance of goods, being enormously higher than the charges on other railways in South Africa. In the agreement it was stipulated that one year's notice only was necessary by the Government of their intention to take over the railway.

The Selati concession was obtained in 1890 by means of numerous bribes, of which a detailed list has been published. In one case it is said that a Government contract was given out at £9600 per mile, which was two days later sublet for £7002 per mile.

The Dynamite concession gave concessionaires power to sell dynamite at 200 per cent. more than the price at which it could be imported. It is stated that in the last concession Mr. Wolmarans received one shilling per case as a bonus, and that the burden laid on the mining community amounted to £600,000 per annum.

No wonder that dissatisfaction was expressed very strongly. In 1890, when President Kruger visited Johannesburg, the rails were swept away in front of the house where he lived, and the crowd seemed almost to threaten his person. Some excited men trampled on the Transvaal flag. After these scenes Mr. Kruger remarked, "They remind me of the old baboon in my yard. When he burned his tail in the Kafir's fire the other day, he jumped down and bit me, and that just after I had been feeding him." But the people knew their President. Mr. Eugene Marais successfully sustained his allegation that the President had defrauded the State by charging heavy travelling expenses for a trip on which he was the guest of the Cape Government. In 1889 His Honour accepted a loan from the State funds at 2½ per cent. In 1892 the Second Raad reported that the road across President Kruger's farm had cost £5000. Mr. Meyer stated that the road was no use except to the owner of the farm. When in 1892 no less than £14,000 worth of vouchers were wanting, the President is said to have declared that nothing was wrong with the accounts. In 1893 His Honour defended concessions and the Government Stands scandal, when the Minister of Mines was attacked for granting Stands to Raad officials when higher offers had been made. A man called Koch, charged with stealing telegraph forms, was put by the President into the office of Executive Minute Keeper. Relations of the President were preferred to office, and are charged with grave irregularities—especially including plunder of the public revenue. Relations and friends of the President claimed a concession for the "bewaar plaatsen," because promised as a reward for their services at the Presidential election. The list of scandals and abuses is too long to reproduce. While these were going on, President Kruger frequently preached and quoted scripture. On one occasion, when asked to be patron of a ball in honour of Her Majesty's birthday, the answer was: "His Honour considers a Ball as Baal's service, for which reason the Lord ordered Moses to kill all offenders."

with disastrous effects to the mining community. When a concession for the manufacture of cyanide of potassium was earnestly pressed by interested members of the Volksraad, their defeat was only obtained in consequence of most untiring and persistent efforts. Then came the question of the disposal of "Bewaar plaatsen"—meaning the underground rights of machine battery and tailing sites. The President and a large number of Raad members earnestly desired that these should be at the disposal of the Government, but at last a solution of the difficulty was obtained by the Minister of Mines, acting under the existing law, permitting many of the companies to convert their machinery, battery, and tailing sites, into claims on payment of arrear licences.

Mr. Kruger distinguished himself by earnestly advocating concessions. He specially pleaded for a jam and biscuit monopoly ; but the Second Raad, or dual chamber, recently established, rejected the proposal. He was not, however, so unfortunate on other occasions, and it is said that the exertions of himself and other Conservative lovers of their country were rewarded when railway, mint, bank, dynamite and water concessions were granted.

At the Presidential election in 1893, Mr. Kruger was elected by a majority of 854—the numbers being for Joubert 7000, and Kruger 7854. It is noticeable that on this occasion Chief Justice Kotze was completely distanced, as he only secured 81 votes. Subsequently the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, visited Pretoria, and held interviews with the President respecting Swaziland, the result of which

was a Convention preliminary to the annexation of the country to the Transvaal. The great desire of the Government of the South African Republic was to get a port, but it was disappointed, as Tongoland, on which longing eyes were cast, was eventually joined to Zululand.

The Imperial Government possessed pre-emption rights to Delagoa Bay, and the British Chartered Company secured the great land of promise stretching between the Limpopo and Zambesi. The Transvaal was thus enclosed in a ring fence, and its rulers determined, as a forlorn hope, to make their union with the "Afrikander Nation" and Mr. Hofmeyr as effectual as possible, so as to prevent, or impede as much as possible, undue assertion of Imperialism in Southern Africa. In the mean time, there were internal difficulties to be overcome. The natives of the Zoutspanberg district refused to act upon the injunctions of Government, and leave their mountain fastnesses; taxes were refused, and eventually an armed force was sent up. Without any declaration of war, the Commandant-General was ordered to take the field, and large contingents of burghers were "commandeered" from various districts. Although British subjects were excluded from the franchise, they were not exempted from the conscription, and natural indignation was the result when numbers of people were called out to defend a country in whose political privileges they were not allowed to participate. The High Court decided that British subjects were exempt, but the Republican Government has more than once considered itself above the ordinary rules of justice as administered by

judges, and, contrary to law, arrested six men who had refused to go, and caused them to be dragged to the front. A crisis occurred. Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner, was sent to Pretoria, and, as he showed conclusively, by means of documents, that, according to treaty, all British subjects were exempt from conscription, the Government of the Transvaal was forced to yield. Very significant scenes occurred when Her Majesty's representative entered Pretoria. Crowds of spectators lined the streets, and attempts to play the national Volkslied were drowned in the deafening chorus of "God save the Queen." If Sir Henry Loch had then gone to Johannesburg there would have been a revolution. It was on this occasion that a memorial was presented from the Uitlanders at the Rand, pointing out that all appeals to the Government for just consideration of their claims had been disregarded, and that a memorial to the Volksraad from thirteen thousand people was rejected with contempt and derision.

The progress of the Transvaal gold fields was unexampled, and the revenue of the Government kept pace with the prosperity of its citizens. The ineffectual fires of the Kaap Fields (Barberton) paled before the great successes of the Rand, and this district became a poor satellite as compared with a great planet. Looking at a summary of the gold production of the Kaap Fields for 1895, we find that in that year 63,000 ounces were produced, of which no less than 45,000 was the output of the Sheba Gold Mining Company; then comes "Barrett's Gold Mining Company" (6198 oz.), "United Ivy" (2226 oz.), "Joe's Luck" (1764 oz.), while alluvial finds are only

represented by 626 oz.* The Rand Fields produced in 1887, 23,125 oz.; in 1889, 369,557 oz.; in 1890, 494,817 oz.; in 1891, 729,628 oz.; in 1892, 1,210,868 oz.; in 1893, 1,478,477 oz.; in 1894, 2,024,163 oz.; in 1895, 2,277,640 oz. The average number of stamps running in 1895 was 2546, and, owing to the more general use of heavier stamps, the effective crushing power per stamp was raised.

The value of the gold obtained in 1895 was £7,708,356, and the dividends paid in this year to shareholders reached the sum of £2,198,943. Enormous improvements were effected in mining. "Tailings," which at first were comparatively neglected, became a large source of income. The Chamber of Mines, reporting on the year 1895, tells us, "The extraction from tailings improved, and the total yield per ton by milling and retreatment processes remains practically unchanged, at rather over 13½ dwts. per ton. Tailings show an increased tonnage of 82,494 tons, and an augmented yield of 51,343 oz. From concentrates, the tonnage of which is not given, the increased yield was greater by 26,817 oz. Preparation has been made for the treatment of slimes." That which was at first an ill-regulated industry, carried on under the direction of unskilled persons, developed into a scientific undertaking, where the best mining engineers and "experts" were employed.† The last and greatest development is that of the

* At Kaapsche's Hoop some persons made a bare living by washing alluvial. There are hopeful places for "hydraulic" in the Leydenberg district; while in various places, such as the Murchison Range, there are good reefs, which will eventually pay. The great Sheba Mine, near Barberton, continues to be successfully worked; and there are, undoubtedly, good gold mines in the district.

† In no part of the world are mining operations more ably and successfully conducted than at the Rand.

"Deep levels," which secure a great future to Johannesburg.*

So far as revenue was concerned, the increase from the year 1893 was very satisfactory. In that year the income of the State reached the large sum of £1,702,000; in 1894 it had increased to £2,247,000; and in 1895 to no less a sum than £3,539,000. In the last-mentioned year the import duties amounted to £1,084,000; the sum of £517,829 is placed under the very unsatisfactory heading of "Sundry receipts;" this is followed in importance by "Prospecting licences, £492,000;" by Transfer duty, £398,000; Stamps, £190,000; Post and Telegraphs, £187,000; Diggers' licences, £48,000; Fines, etc., £44,000. The Hut tax brought in £74,000; Quitrents, £19,000; Road tax, £13,000; Stand licences, £47,000; Leases, £24,000. There is an absurd and misleading item, "Sundry receipts, £155,000." This analysis is sufficient to show that the Uitlanders really bear the burdens of the country, and that it is out of pockets filled by their capital, energy, and skill, that the expenses of the State, including its occult secret service, are defrayed.

Turning to the expenditure account for 1895, we find that the South African Republic in that year paid in—

Official Salaries	...	...	...	£570,000
Public Works ...	...	...	...	£353,000

* Exclusive of De Kaap (Barberton) and Johannesburg Mines the following was the output in the Transvaal for 1895:—Klerksdorp, 90,000 oz.; Leydenberg, 63,000 oz.; Zoutspanberg, 8,726 oz.; Vryheid, 470 oz.; Pretoria, 316 oz. Continued attempts at gold mining were unsuccessful at Malmani, on the border of Bechuanaland and the Transvaal, but a good deal of money was sunk here, although not nearly so much as was swallowed up by the De Kaap Mines, which, in most cases, were complete failures.

"Sundry Services" *	...	...	£838,000
"Special Payments" *	...	...	£205,000
Purchases of Properties	...	...	£135,000
Education, etc.	...	...	£56,000
Police and Gaols	...	...	£59,000
Administration of Justice	...	...	£39,000
Postal ...	...	...	£45,000
Military	...	...	£87,000
Interest	...	...	£148,000

The total expenditure was only £2,679,095, while the actual revenue was £3,539,955, thus showing a clear credit balance of £860,860.

The tides in the affairs of men are, of course, exemplified in Johannesburg, as they are in all mining centres. The ebb of 1890 and 1891 was followed by a great flow of prosperity in 1892. At various times the market "went back," but the great basis on which all rested was so sound that recovery invariably followed. No doubt there was much gambling in stocks, over-speculation, extravagance and its sequences; but all this seems a necessary accompaniment of great riches.† To some extent the people were too busy and too prosperous to care much about politics, but nevertheless the disadvantages under which they laboured became so serious and oppressive as to force themselves upon their attention.

As we have seen, the "Transvaal union" was established. Its object was to obtain for the Uitlanders some amelioration of the political conditions

* These are, of course, disgraceful headings for such large items of expenditure. On both sides of the account we have a discreditable method of concealment adopted.

† Fine public buildings, commercial edifices, and luxurious villas, arose in Johannesburg, and also in Pretoria. There were property and building booms, as well as those connected with mining shares. Dealing in "Stands" was frequently more lucrative than dealing in scrip.

under which they were permitted to reside in the State. Nothing but constitutional means were to be adopted, and the chief plank in the platform was the demand for a fair extension of the franchise. During the session of 1893 respectful memorials were presented to the Volksraad, signed by more than 5,000 persons, but these were treated with perfect indifference.

Reference has already been made to the great tension which existed when men who were not given the rights of citizens were called upon to perform the duty of burghers in the field. Then, as we have already said, His Excellency the High Commissioner received a memorial signed by more than thirteen thousand adult residents of Johannesburg. A monster meeting was afterwards held under the auspices of the "National Union," when at least five thousand persons were present. The speeches were moderate in their tone, although as taxpayers under a "Republic" the people felt justified in fearlessly stating their grievances.

Mr. Advocate Leonard, Q.C., spoke with eloquence and force. Mr. Advocate Wessels solemnly warned the Government against continuously disregarding just claims, and a resolution was carried with acclamation, stating that "This meeting of the National Union, while repudiating the unfounded charge made against the Union of seeking to undermine the independence of the State, hereby protests, most emphatically, against the recent action of the Volksraad. First in respect of its action with regard to the petition of thirteen thousand inhabitants of Witwatersrand, praying for the granting of a reasonable

franchise, and second, in debarring for all time all *Uitlanders* and their children from possessing the rights of citizens, while they continue to bear the chief burdens of the State. This meeting declares that such action is calculated to retard the union between the old and new inhabitants, which is essential to the progress and well-being of the Republic, and therefore urges upon all who value the rights of citizenship to join the Union in its endeavours to obtain those rights which their proved loyalty to the State, and their services in raising it to its present position of wealth and importance, entitle them to demand. And this meeting finally pledges itself to continue the most strenuous efforts to obtain from the Government a Constitution based upon democratic principles, and not to cease such efforts until the desired end has been obtained." Good apropos words, but utterly ineffectual. Time passed, constitutional efforts were continued vehemently, but there was no result. Sinbad might as effectually have spent his eloquence upon the Old Man of the Sea.

The annual elections in 1895 gave an accession of "Progressive strength to both Raads," and the great public demonstration at the opening of the Delagoa Bay Railway seemed to raise the spirits of the rulers of the country, but the President and his Hollander surroundings doggedly determined not to yield. It was impossible not to perceive that constitutional efforts had utterly failed. At the opening of the new buildings of the Chamber of Mines, in November, 1895, a speech was delivered by the chairman (Mr. Lionel Phillips), which naturally attracted great attention, as in it he warned

the Government that it was sitting upon a mine which might any day explode. He laid stress upon its indifference to the interests of the mining industry, to the refusal of political rights, unjust taxation, and general corruption. Mr. George Farrar spoke in a similar tone. Indeed it was evident that a climax was reached, and a revolution at hand. A manifesto was now published by Mr. Charles Leonard, Chairman of the Union,* in which, after furnishing a history of the movement, the list of reforms was given specifically as follows :—

(1) The establishment of the Republic as a true Republic.

(2) A Grondwet † or Constitution which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people, and framed on lines laid down by them—a constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alteration.

(3) An equitable franchise law and fair representation.

* He succeeded the Hon. John Tudhope. Mr. W. St. John Carr was the first Secretary. Mr. J. P. Fitz-Patrick became Secretary to the Reform Committee.

† In the Session of 1893, a committee was appointed to codify all laws relating to the Grondwet; but when the Report came up it was set aside by the first Raad on the ground that the committee had exceeded its powers, and the subject was, therefore, indefinitely postponed while the Government was called on to codify the law and draw up a new Grondwet (Constitution) on the basis of the old one. Amendments in the Gold law were considered in an illusory way. A proposal to create a Department of Agriculture was negatived. The great need for more effective finance administration was shown in the case of Mr. George Gie, whose stamp account at Johannesburg showed a deficiency of £4000. Defalcations were frequent, and the audit and check of accounts were quite inadequate. An effort to increase the revenue was made by levying a tax of £20 per annum on absentees from farms, and £10 on each absentee from a town erf. An excise tax of six shillings per gallon was levied on spirits made from imported grain, and a number of distilleries were consequently closed.

- (4) Equality of the Dutch and English languages.
- (5) Responsibility to the Legislature of the Heads of the Great Departments.
- (6) Removal of religious disabilities.
- (7) Independence of the Courts of Justice, with adequate and secured remuneration of the Judges.
- (8) Liberal and comprehensive education.
- (9) Efficient Civil Service, with adequate provision for pay and pension.
- (10) Free trade in South African products.

How these reforms should be gained was to be taken into consideration at a Monster Meeting to be held in Johannesburg on January 6, 1896.

It was said that to get reform from the Boers was absolutely impossible,* because, in the first place, they did not know what to do, and if they did they hadn't got suitable men. But even presuming that they could find adequate leaders in favour of Reform, it was notorious that they had no conception of any duty higher than that of utilizing every opportunity for personal advantage. The President did not aim at enabling lower grade mines to be worked and thus increase an alien population. He was really opposed to the Gold Fields industry, and was told to reflect before throwing any fresh fields open, remembering how troublesome and expensive Johannesburg had already proved. The Raads were composed of intensely ignorant and prejudiced men.†

* "Their rights! Yes," said President Kruger, "they will only get these over my dead body."

† A few instances, illustrative of the ignorance of Raad members, can easily be furnished:—

1. Mr. Groblaar asked in the Raad, "Whether an aërial train was a balloon, and whether it could fly through the air?"

2. Mr. Taljaard wanted to know "whether 'Pyrites' and 'Concentrates' "

could not be translated into the Dutch language? He wanted to know what they were.

3. Messrs. Lombaard and Wolverans declared, "That when duties were at their highest groceries were cheapest."

4. The President declared that, "Gambling and lotteries were in conflict with the word of God; but man must exercise horses, and therefore an exception should be made in favour of races."

5. Mr. Lombaard said that "The revenue of the goldfields was less than the expenses—let them go to the Devil and look after themselves."

6. Mr. Taljaard "could not understand how people were always wanting to write letters. He wrote none himself. In the days of his youth he had written a letter and gone fifty miles to post it. Now people complained if they had to go one mile."

7. Mr. Roos said, "Locusts were a plague sent by God, and the country would be loaded with shame and obloquy if it raised its hand against the Almighty. Messrs. DeClerk and Steenkamp said the same—quoting the Scriptures. The Chairman of the Raad related a true story of a man whose crops were always spared by locusts until one day he caused some to be killed. His farm was then devastated. Mr. Stoop conjured members not to become celestial gods. Mr. De Keer said that the country was already beginning to reap the bitter fruit of railways.

8. The President was not certain whether or not the transmission of mails on Sunday was not sinful.

9. Mr. Spies saw no necessity for teaching English. Let the English remain in their own country.

10. Mr. Wolmarans was against throwing up bombs to bring down rain. Why should they permit people to mock at the Almighty? The Raad resolved against such practices.

The above are merely specimens.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RAID.

TOWARDS the end of December, 1895, "Groot Schuur" (Great Grange), the Dutch chateau of Mr. Rhodes at Rondebosch, near Cape Town, became the scene of one of those important events which will live in South African history. There were assembled on this occasion Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Lionel Phillips, Mr. Hammond, the American mining expert; Colonel Rhodes, and Mr. Charles Leonard. Final arrangements were practically made, and both objective aims, and the means proposed to obtain them, clearly set forth. It is interesting to observe the chief actors in this extraordinary drama. Mr. Rhodes himself has been described, not inaptly, as a reincarnation of some wealthy old Roman—charged by the Republic to stand on a remote rampart of the Empire to keep the gates open, through which the influence, commerce, and laws of Rome might permeate. No sordid motives prompted him to action. He felt that reform was necessary in the Transvaal, and believed that as all constitutional methods had failed, the application of force was not only justifiable but necessary. Mr. Lionel Phillips,

who represented one of the greatest Mining Firms of Johannesburg, as well as Mr. Hammond, the distinguished American engineer, thoroughly shared these views; and Colonel Rhodes, a soldier of reputation, and Mr. Charles Leonard,* one of the leading lawyers in South Africa, felt not the slightest hesitation in embarking in a cause which they sincerely believed to be both honourable and disinterested. The calumnies of the *Gaulois* and *Truth* had never the slightest foundation, as the Capitalists of the Rand risked both their liberty and their money in a cause which they believed to be righteous. Their methods, no doubt, are condemned, but they were similar to those successfully used by William the Third, and which in recent years secured the plaudits of the English speaking world, when performed by Garibaldi. Success was only wanting to induce the *Times* newspaper to overflow with congratulations on the successful manner in which British energy had converted a corrupt and impossible government into a free and well-governed Republic. This indeed was the object of the conspirators. Here is their Manifesto.

We want (1) Full representation in the Councils of the State in proportion to our number and

* On the occasion of an interview with Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Leonard says, "We read to him the draft of our declaration of rights. He was leaning against the mantelpiece smoking his cigarette, and when it came to that part of the document in which we refer to free trade in South African products, he turned round suddenly, and said, 'That is all I want—that is all I ask of you. The rest will come in time; there must be a beginning. There must be a beginning, and that will be the beginning, if you people get your rights. Take your own time. I will keep Jameson on the frontier for moral support, and he will come to your assistance if you get in a tight place.'"

vested interests; being the majority of the people we claim to be included in a true government of the people, by the people, for the people; (2) Proper control of public moneys, and true responsibility to the people; (3) Absolute independence of the Courts, and the raising of the status of the Judges; (4) The possession and control of our railways and public works; (5) The abolition of monopolies; (6) Free trade with the neighbouring States of South Africa in all products thereof; (7) A settled policy, which while guarding the legitimate interests of the South African Republic zealously, shall foster the good will of the other South African States, and strengthen the bonds of commerce and good feeling between us and them; (8) Pure administration; (9) Equal rights for the English and Dutch languages.*

Then, at this fateful meeting in October, 1895, Mr. Leonard stated the groundwork of action as follows:—

“The basis of the compact was that Mr. Rhodes should assist us.† Originally, I think, as many as

* The House of Commons Second Report, page 11, states, as proved, that “from 1890 to 1895 there were repeated endeavours to obtain redress of these grievances by constitutional means, but without result.” The report of the Cape Colony House of Assembly entirely ignores these grievances, although they were absolutely the cause of the raid into which they investigated.

† The basis of the arrangement made with Jameson in September, 1895 (in Johannesburg), was that he was to maintain a force of fully 1500 men fully equipped, with 1500 spare rifles and spare ammunition. Five thousand rifles were to be smuggled into Johannesburg together with Maxim guns and 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition. It was calculated then that there would be at least 7000 rifles in Johannesburg. Original plan was to seize Pretoria. The forces of Jameson and of Johannesburg were to act in concert—not, however, until the signal was given from Johannesburg. Dr. Jameson was to start from his camp same night as outbreak. Dates named, December 28th and January 4th. Great stress is laid on the fact

1200 men were to be on the border. That watered down, until finally, just before Dr. Jameson came over the border, I think it was 750. We were to rise in revolt, seize the Pretoria arsenal and the ammunition there, retire on Johannesburg and hold the place; and Mr. Rhodes told me the High Commissioner would come up from Cape Town to mediate."

After quoting these words, the House of Commons Committee significantly declares that, "Mr. Rhodes seems to have assured Mr. Leonard at that time that the Dutch population in the Cape Colony would welcome a change."* Here the veil is lifted, and we see that Mr. Rhodes was in his own mind loyal to all his adherents. The Cape Colony produce was barred by prohibitive tariffs, the traffic on its principal trunk line of railway was always seriously threatened, and the money of its citizens largely embarked in gold-mining enterprises jeopardized under a rule of corruption and tyranny which all constitutional efforts had in vain endeavoured to improve. No people outside the Transvaal would be more benefited by good government in the South African Republic than the inhabitants of Dutch extraction in the Cape Colony, who were pushed aside by Hollanders from place and power at Pretoria. It was, therefore, naturally believed that they would gladly hail a change from the rule of a narrow-minded prejudiced oligarchy to that of a well-governed Republic.

that Jameson was not to move without the necessary word—then patrol was to go out and conduct him in. It is contended that he did not get the order, but was told not to come, and that therefore the Reform Committee was not responsible for the fiasco.

* Second Report, page 7.

Everything was now finally arranged. The bugle call to arms was sounded through the Johannesburg Press, and at public meetings held under the auspices of the National Union. The people were told that they had a right to mould their own destinies, and to demand such reforms as would alone enable them to do so.* The working out of the plot depended upon the reply to a Johannesburg ultimatum. And here it may be observed that if Jameson's force on the border had been merely used as a threat success would have been secured. If an unsatisfactory reply were returned, as previous experience rendered probable, then the revolutionary party was to take possession of Johannesburg, declare itself the provisional Government of the country, seize Pretoria with its State Arsenal, and then issue a Proclamation proposing to submit its acts and grievances to a *plebiscite* of the entire white population. Certainly this was not a wise programme. The very recent history of the Transvaal, if studied at all, should have taught these capitalists that the Dutch Boer valued his independence above everything, and having succeeded at Laing's Nek and Majuba would scarcely falter at Johannesburg and Pretoria. Besides, the British Government might have considered itself bound, under the Convention, to restore the rule of President Kruger. Here,

* The arguments commonly used in such cases are summarized by Mr. Stead in his "History of the Mystery," page 33. "The commonwealth must be organized for the commonweal. Democracy must dethrone oligarchy. The rule of the whole people by the whole people, for the benefit of the whole people, must be established, in place of a system of loot legalized by a junta of burghers for the fattening of rings of foreign harpies. Taxation without representation is tyranny. Resistance to tyrants is the duty of every citizen, especially when he is a citizen without the rights of citizenship," etc., etc.

however, arises one of the great problems which may never be solved. How far did the British Government, through its Colonial Secretary, really approve beforehand of a plot? There is a *prima facie* case in favour of the view that Mr. Chamberlain, in reality, although of course not officially, sanctioned such a movement as would result in a good Republic being substituted for a bad one. A few hints to Mr. Rhodes would be quite sufficient, and it must candidly be admitted that it looks very much as if these were given. Otherwise the policy of the Conspirators must be taken to have been too essentially foolish for the concurrence of such an able schemer and thinker as the Premier of the Cape Colony had proved himself to be.* In justice, however, to Mr. Chamberlain it must be admitted that there is not a scintilla of evidence against him.

It was not only necessary to infuse enthusiasm into the breasts of the people of Johannesburg, but also to place weapons in their hands, and with this object in view cases of arms were sent to the British South Africa stores at Mafeking or housed in De Beer's† premises at Kimberley, to be sent thence in oil tanks to Johannesburg. President Kruger must have looked upon Mr. Rhodes as a Cerberus with four heads, one of which represented the Premier of the Cape Colony, another the Chairman of the great "De Beer's Consolidated Mining Company,"

* See also some guarded replies of that astute witness Miss Shaw, given before the House of Commons Committee.

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a third the leading ruler of the "Consolidated Gold Mines of South Africa," and the last, and perhaps most important, that of the Managing Director of "the British South Africa Company." His influence and reputation were enormous. He possessed *carte blanche* power from London so far as the forces of Rhodesia were concerned, and there were none to gainsay his orders to the staffs of two of the greatest mining companies of the world. Certainly as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, as well as holder of other offices, he did not imagine that he was betraying any trust because he believed that his policy would secure the best interests of the Cape Colony, as well as those of the Empire, and of the South African Republic. His object was not in the slightest tainted by sordid views, as Mr. Schreiner more than once emphatically declared ; but we know nevertheless that he was most decidedly mistaken in the means he adopted.

The verdict of the British Government and of the British public would possibly have been favourable to the raid if it had succeeded.

As it is illegal to move arms without a permit,* large quantities of weapons were smuggled into Johannesburg, not only in oil drums but as mining machinery in bulk. At the same time, on the pretext of establishing a coach service between Mafeking and Johannesburg, a number of Stores at adequate intervals were built and stocked with provisions. So plausible was the pretext that no suspicion was apparently aroused. Mr. Rhodes was the chief

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Paymaster, as well as the principal member of the conspiracy, and the first draft, really on him, although nominally on the British South Africa Company, was drawn on October 20, 1895. Soon after came a telegram from Dr. Jameson, Administrator of Rhodesia—"Date fixed is 28th December to start from here—do not want small Lee-Metford Rifles."*

"A place to jump off" having been secured in Bechuanaland, there was no difficulty in establishing a Police Camp at Pitsani under the pretext of protecting the railway works. Gradually the troops were moved down, and certainly to any observer it must have seemed peculiar to see concentrated at this place the Mashonaland Mounted Police from Buluwayo, numbering 250 men, with 293 horses, 168 mules, 6 maxims, and 2 field guns. To this detachment was eventually added a large number of men from the disbanded Border Police. Some picked Volunteers were also sent up from the Cape Colony, and then the force comprised 600 men and 700 horses. Naturally Dr. Jameson wanted something to appear in evidence as the reason for a dash on Johannesburg, so when there he induced Mr. Charles Leonard, who had succeeded his brother as President of the "National Union," to write the famous letter of invitation in which the people of the Golden City ask for the intervention of British troops for the purpose of rescuing women and children; and in a business way guarantee "any expense that may reasonably be incurred"—at the same time asking mankind to believe that "nothing but the sternest necessity prompted this appeal."

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In a clever publication about the Raid* the High Commissioner is credited with asking—

“Are the Millionaires taking the command there?”

“So I hear.”

“Then you may depend upon it nothing will be done. Money Bags never fight; so you do not need to disturb yourself.”

But “Money Bags,” being essentially commercial, were particular in keeping copies of most compromising letters and telegrams, all of which subsequently fell into the hands of the enemy. Here there is an *embarras de richesses* and every move of the conspirators can be ascertained. In spite of all the fuss made and money spent, only 2500 rifles were sent to Johannesburg, so that when the crisis came it was impossible to arm more than a fraction of the people. Neither had any organization or drill on an adequate scale been attended to. Mr. Rhodes was scarcely responsible for details, and details on this occasion were left to men who proved themselves incompetent or never intended to fight. They continually used the telegraph and styled Revolution “flotation,” troops on the border were “foreign subscribers,” and held “shareholders’” meetings; while a manifesto was a “Directors’ Circular.” When before in the history of the world did Conspirators use stock exchange expressions to engineer a revolution!

There was a triangle. Jameson stood like a hound in leash at Pitsani, a council was supposed to manage everything in Johannesburg, while the chief originator of the plot held the post of Prime Minister in Cape Town. Delays are dangerous. On

* Stead’s “History of the Mystery,” page 80.

the 7th of December, 1895, Colonel Rhodes wired from Johannesburg to Major White at Mafeking to tell Jameson "that the polo tournament here is postponed for one week, or it would clash with the race week." Then came the reply from Major White: "Do not alter unless obliged according original understanding—considerable suspicion already, therefore any delay would be most injurious." A few days afterwards Jameson wires to Stevens, Secretary of the British South Africa Company in Cape Town, that Mr. Rhodes was to be told that "everything is very satisfactory, also ready here. The entire journey occupies two and a half days." But on the 11th of December cold water is again thrown on the undertaking by Johannesburg. "Inform Dr. Jameson do not send any more heroes before January—no room for them." But Jameson, willing to fulfil his obligations and dash in at the predetermined moment, wires again that "He is ready." Indeed he sends a long urgent message to Cape Town pointing out the extreme danger of delay, and this is supplemented by one from the London *Times*.* Dr. Woolf wires from Johannesburg to Pitsani on the 18th, "There is not likely to be postponement." A new complication arose by Mr. Hammond telegraphing to Mr. Rhodes that flotation must be delayed until Mr. Beit's arrival, in consequence of his not being able to arrange expenditure without him. But this principal Money Bag was sick,† and could not come,

* Of course the *Times* newspaper denied the message. One of the staff (Miss Shaw), however, sent it, and explains in her evidence that certain European complications induced her to forward it.

† He was recruiting at Muizenberg, a watering-place near Cape Town.

although he pointedly declares, "Immediate flotation is the thing most desired, as we never know what may hinder it if now delayed."

Then comes a very sensible demand addressed to Johannesburg by Dr. Harris, the right-hand man of Mr. Rhodes—"Reply when you can float in your opinion, so that I may advise Dr. Jameson." But the poor conspirators were in too confused a state to be able to name a day, and immediately got up another hitch. Could they be assured that the High Commissioner and the Premier of the Cape Colony would leave immediately on the day of flotation "for the arena" of disturbance? This was cleared up at once. "The Chairman" would start immediately and "no invite was necessary." A most important message followed which really meant business. The telegram is from Harris, Cape Town, to Jameson, Pitsani, dated the 23rd of December, 1895, and the words are as follows: "Company will be floated next Saturday 12 o'clock at night: they are very anxious you must not start before 8 o'clock and secure a telegraph office silence. We suspect Transvaal is getting aware slightly." This is Jameson's warrant for rushing forward, but so has he been straining at the leash that on the 24th he has to be told not to move before Saturday night; and at the same time the significant words are used, "We are feeling confident it will take place Saturday night."

The man with the firm hand on the helm now wired to Johannesburg—"Cactus" (Dr. Harris) "to Colonel Rhodes. Dr. Jameson says he cannot give extension of refusal for flotation beyond December, as Transvaal Boers opposition shareholders hold meeting on

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“So I hear.”

“Then you may depend upon it nothing will be done. Money Bags never fight; so you do not need to disturb yourself.”

But “Money Bags,” being essentially commercial, were particular in keeping copies of most compromising letters and telegrams, all of which subsequently fell into the hands of the enemy. Here there is an *embarras de richesses* and every move of the conspirators can be ascertained. In spite of all the fuss made and money spent, only 2500 rifles were sent to Johannesburg, so that when the crisis came it was impossible to arm more than a fraction of the people. Neither had any organization or drill on an adequate scale been attended to. Mr. Rhodes was scarcely responsible for details, and details on this occasion were left to men who proved themselves incompetent or never intended to fight. They continually used the telegraph and styled Revolution “flotation,” troops on the border were “foreign subscribers,” and held “shareholders’” meetings; while a manifesto was a “Directors’ Circular.” When before in the history of the world did Conspirators use stock exchange expressions to engineer a revolution!

There was a triangle. Jameson stood like a hound in leash at Pitsani, a council was supposed to manage everything in Johannesburg, while the chief originator of the plot held the post of Prime Minister in Cape Town. Delays are dangerous. On

* Stead’s “History of the Mystery,” page 80.

the 7th of December, 1895, Colonel Rhodes wired from Johannesburg to Major White at Mafeking to tell Jameson "that the polo tournament here is postponed for one week, or it would clash with the race week." Then came the reply from Major White: "Do not alter unless obliged according original understanding—considerable suspicion already, therefore any delay would be most injurious." A few days afterwards Jameson wires to Stevens, Secretary of the British South Africa Company in Cape Town, that Mr. Rhodes was to be told that "everything is very satisfactory, also ready here. The entire journey occupies two and a half days." But on the 11th of December cold water is again thrown on the undertaking by Johannesburg. "Inform Dr. Jameson do not send any more heroes before January—no room for them." But Jameson, willing to fulfil his obligations and dash in at the predetermined moment, wires again that "He is ready." Indeed he sends a long urgent message to Cape Town pointing out the extreme danger of delay, and this is supplemented by one from the *London Times*.* Dr. Woolf wires from Johannesburg to Pitsani on the 18th, "There is not likely to be postponement." A new complication arose by Mr. Hammond telegraphing to Mr. Rhodes that flotation must be delayed until Mr. Beit's arrival, in consequence of his not being able to arrange expenditure without him. But this principal Money Bag was sick,† and could not come,

* Of course the *Times* newspaper denied the message. One of the staff (Miss Shaw), however, sent it, and explains in her evidence that certain European complications induced her to forward it.

† He was recruiting at Muizenberg, a watering-place near Cape Town.

although he pointedly declares, "Immediate flotation is the thing most desired, as we never know what may hinder it if now delayed."

Then comes a very sensible demand addressed to Johannesburg by Dr. Harris, the right-hand man of Mr. Rhodes—"Reply when you can float in your opinion, so that I may advise Dr. Jameson." But the poor conspirators were in too confused a state to be able to name a day, and immediately got up another hitch. Could they be assured that the High Commissioner and the Premier of the Cape Colony would leave immediately on the day of flotation "for the arena" of disturbance? This was cleared up at once. "The Chairman" would start immediately and "no invite was necessary." A most important message followed which really meant business. The telegram is from Harris, Cape Town, to Jameson, Pitsani, dated the 23rd of December, 1895, and the words are as follows: "Company will be floated next Saturday 12 o'clock at night: they are very anxious you must not start before 8 o'clock and secure a telegraph office silence. We suspect Transvaal is getting aware slightly." This is Jameson's warrant for rushing forward, but so has he been straining at the leash that on the 24th he has to be told not to move before Saturday night; and at the same time the significant words are used, "We are feeling confident it will take place Saturday night."

The man with the firm hand on the helm now wired to Johannesburg—"Cactus" (Dr. Harris) "to Colonel Rhodes. Dr. Jameson says he cannot give extension of refusal for flotation beyond December, as Transvaal Boers opposition shareholders hold meeting on

Limpopo at Pitsani Mackluke." Then Johannesburg discovered another hitch, and the flag question was raised, upon which subject Mr. Charles Leonard was despatched to Cape Town in order to interview Mr. Rhodes. One of the telegrams declares that it is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation until we have C. J. Rhodes's absolute pledge that authority of Imperial Government will not be insisted on. Poor Cactus (Dr. Harris) has to accept the delay; but he declares that it is "Too awful;" "Very sorry." He adds subsequently, what was indeed strikingly true, "Am beginning to see our shareholders in Matabeleland * concession were very different to those in Secheland matter."

Of course Mr. Rhodes did not insist, and never had insisted, on any Imperial flag. What he desired was a government based upon the wishes of the people, and he believed that this would not interfere with his plans for South African federation.

A time had now arrived when it became perfectly evident to Mr. Rhodes that immediate "flotation" would be disastrous, as Johannesburg was not prepared—indeed was evidently neither ready nor willing to carry out the programme. Jameson must be kept at Pitsani for an indefinite period. He is told, "Do not be alarmed at our having 600 men at Pitsani Mackluke; we have the right to have them; you know we are sorting the B.S.A. Company's Police for eventual distribution, and if people are so foolish as to think you are threatening Transvaal, we cannot

* This is, of course, a feeling comparison between the brilliant achievements of the small force under Jameson in Rhodesia, and the delays and confused action of the Money Bag conspirators.

help that." Evidently Jameson now got out of patience. He telegraphs, "If I cannot, as I expect, communicate with Bechuanaland Border cutting, then we must carry into effect original plans." Hammond and Phillips both urgently declared that flotation must be delayed—indeed the latter, thoroughly knowing the position, said to Mr. Beit, "If foreign subscribers insist on floating without delay, anticipate complete failure."

Jameson had shown impatience. He now appears in the character of an enraged and disappointed leader. He declares that "there will be no flotation if left to themselves. First delay was races, which did not exist; second policies—already arranged. All mean fear. . . . I stand to lose fifty good British South Africa Police—time expires next week."

The Cape Town men, however, could not help seeing the madness of moving into the Transvaal with Johannesburg utterly unprepared, and no disturbance to furnish a pretext for action. Special messages were despatched, a special train was engaged to go from Kimberley to Mafeking, and "Cactus the firm" (Dr. Harris) was now forced to bend to the inevitable. He wires to Jameson, "It is all right if you will only wait;" and again, a few hours later, "Gould Adams arrives Mafeking Monday, and Heany, I think, arrives to-night; after seeing him, you and we must judge regarding flotation, but all our foreign friends are now dead against it, and say public will not subscribe one penny towards it even with you as a Director. *Ichabod*." The last word was both descriptive and prophetic.

Mr. Charles Leonard,* Chairman of the National Union, arrived in Cape Town on Saturday, December 28th, and lost no time in reporting to Mr. Rhodes that disunion and chaos reigned at Johannesburg. The flag question was brought prominently forward; but this talk did not alter the opinion of Dr. Harris, who concurred with Dr. Jameson in thinking that it "all means fear." Jameson is wired to and informed that he is quite right about the cause of delay of flotation, his opinion is requested, and he is significantly told, "We cannot have a fiasco." At the same time Colonel Rhodes is asked if what Charles Leonard said was true, and the words are added, "Consult all our friends and let me know, as Dr. Jameson is quite ready to move, and is only waiting for Captain Maurice Heany's arrival."

The interview between Mr. Rhodes and Messrs. Leonard and Hammond at Groot Schuur could only have one result. The Deputies wired to Johannesburg that it was all right about Jameson, and that the leaders should go on quietly with their movements. "A new programme had been agreed upon." Mr. Rhodes at the same time knew that Captain Heany carried an absolute veto to Dr. Jameson, and was satisfied, to use his own words, that the Johannesburg Reform movement had "fizzled out like a damp squib." But at five o'clock on this afternoon Jameson sent off a telegram, declaring positively that unless he heard definitely to the contrary he would leave to-morrow (Sunday, December 29th).

Now, indeed, there was a crisis, and we must

* Mr. Charles Leonard did not return to Johannesburg, and left for England in January, 1896. A warrant was issued against him most illegally at the instance of the Government of the South African Republic.

exactly appreciate Jameson's position in order that his conduct may be understood. He had been told off to do certain work, and everything was ready, while any further delay would be ruinous. In discussions with his friends it was agreed that in certain difficult positions action should take place at once without waiting for a signal—indeed that in some cases action should be taken when even an opposite signal was displayed.* Dr. Jameson tells us in his evidence that he thought it not only unwise but impossible to postpone the flotation. "I knew that if I waited twenty-four hours longer (the fact of the matter is that under the circumstances I waited twenty-four hours too long) I should never have got through at all." He also lays some stress on the fact that on Saturday the 28th of December the following telegram from Johannesburg was circulated through Reuter's Agency in South Africa, and was exhibited at Mafeking and Pitsani—"Position becoming acute, and persistent rumours afloat—secret arming and warlike preparations—women, children leaving Rand. Americans passed resolution siding Transvaal—Market lifeless—no business, everything politics—Volkslied

* We all know the oft-quoted case of the great Nelson, who could not see adverse signals. In White's diary it is reported under date April 14th, 1895, "When talking of Uganda, Rhodes blamed the officers of our expedition for not seizing and fortifying a point on the Nile and holding on to it. I remarked that they may have had orders from our Government as to their line of conduct. He replied, 'Precisely so; you cannot expect a Prime Minister to write down that you are to seize ports, etc., but when he gives you orders to the contrary, disobey them—*Verbum sap.*'" A passage from the "History of a Mystery" is significant where, when Jameson received orders not to make the raid, the very messenger says, "At the club I asked what will he do when he gets the message? 'Bless you,' said one, 'I think he will come all the same. I don't think it will make any difference.' 'Yes,' said another, 'that is just what I think, and we will do our best to give him a welcome.' 'Then they are expecting me,' said Jameson exultingly."

and 'God save the Queen' loudly cheered Theatre Pretoria. President and General Joubert returned. Political situation talk town, and opinion expressed by leading men *modus vivendi* will be arrived at, and wiser counsels prevail in Johannesburg." *

On Sunday morning Jameson wired that he would that night leave for the Transvaal. He stated his reason to be that in final arrangements made with him he clearly understood that in case of the Transvaal authorities becoming suspicious or aroused, he was to start immediately to prevent loss of life. He had received such information, and was therefore compelled to move in order to fulfil his promise. The telegram concludes by stating, "We are simply going to protect everybody while they change the present dishonest Government, and take vote from the whole country as to form of Government required by the whole."

Then there was a Johannesburg message addressed to Dr. Woolf, which in guarded language called on the men of the Golden City to go out on Tuesday night to meet the column and there decide about its further progress. Advocate Leonard was to harangue the public, while arms were to be served out, and the miners, with Lee-Metford rifles in their hands, made ready for the fray.

On the evening of Sunday, the 29th of December, 1895, the Resident Magistrate of Mafeking heard the sound of cheering at the Police Barracks, and soon after one hundred and sixty men wheeled to the right, and, leaving the Protectorate road, advanced

* See "Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on British South Africa."—Mr. Jameson, C.B., pp. 258-260.

into that of the Transvaal. Almost simultaneously, at Pitsani, distant twenty-seven miles from Mafeking, there was a parade called at which speeches were made by Dr. Jameson, Colonel White, and Sir John Willoughby. The gist of them all was contained in the words of Major Coventry when addressing the men at Malmani. "We cannot keep it from you any longer. It is all bosh about fighting Linchwe. We are going straight to Johannesburg. We want you all to come. It will be a short trip; everything has been arranged for." When some men asked whether they were going under Queen's or Company's orders they were told in reply by Colonel Grey, "I cannot say that you are going under the Queen's orders, but you are going to fight for the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa." At Pitsani the letter of appeal from Johannesburg was read by Jameson and, referring to women and children being in danger, he expressed a hope that no man would hang back. A few doubters and grumblers fell out, but the mass of English lads, with loud cheers, declared for "Doctor Jim."

The invisible line which formed the "Rubicon" on this occasion was trotted across, in the great open veld, under a calm moonlit sky. The stars in their courses fought against Jameson from the first. To secure "telegraph office silence" the wires had to be cut, but incredible to say, the only really important wire running to Pretoria, by way of Zeerust and Rustenburg, was the only one left uncut. Drunkenness caused this disaster. The inebriated trooper sent to do the work cut the wire of a fence, and then reeled back to his comrades, supposing he had obeyed

orders. The Pitsani and Mafeking columns effected a junction at Malmani, thirty-nine miles from the former place, and then the united force was seen to consist of 512 mounted men, with eight M.H. Maxims, one 12½ pounder, and two 7-pounders, together with ammunition carts, pack horses, mules, and attendant Kafirs. The officers in command were Lieut.-Colonel Sir John Willoughby (Major Royal Horse Guards); Major Hon. Robert White (Captain Royal Welsh Fusiliers); Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Henry F. White (Major Grenadier Guards); Lieut.-Colonel Raleigh Grey (Captain 6th Dragoons); and the Hon. C. J. Coventry (a militia officer). The best men in the command were those who had been in the Bechuanaland Border Police; a surprising proportion of the force were mere lads; and then there were a few Afrikaners from the Cape Colony.

The road is a very plain one from Malmani to Krugersdorp, and the distance between the two places is not more than 130 miles.

The calamities of the march commenced with drunkenness, and it is reported that they were eventually considerably accentuated by indulgence in drinking. The officers do not seem to have kept either themselves or their men in check, but so far as order of march was concerned, everything appeared to go on fairly well. There were scouts, advance guard, and flanking columns; but the men were not given sufficient time for rest and refreshment at the halts provided. Indeed, frequently they had not breathing space in which to eat their bully beef and biscuits.

The first communication from the enemy was a letter from the Commandant of Marico, warning the

Administrator of Rhodesia that he should not conflict with international law and the law of the land. In reply, Jameson said that he intended to proceed with his plans, "which have no hostile intentions against people of the Transvaal. We are here," he goes on to say, "in reply to an invitation from the principal residents of the Rand, to assist them in their demands for justice and the ordinary rights of every citizen of a civilized State." On Tuesday, the 1st of January, 1896, a mounted messenger caught up to the column bearing despatches for Dr. Jameson and each officer of the force, in which they were informed by the High Commissioner, per Mr. Newton, the resident Commissioner at Mafeking, that the violation of the territory of a friendly State was repudiated by Her Majesty's Government, and that each one of them was rendering himself liable to heavy penalties. No letters could have been more unwelcome, and no dunning missives were ever more repudiated. "Take them to Jameson," said Willoughby. "Take them to Sir John Willoughby," was the response of the Doctor; "he is in military command." After the reply, "The despatches will be attended to," the column moved on as if nothing had occurred.

Early on Wednesday morning, January 1, 1896, despatches were received from Sir Jacobus de Wet, British Agent at Pretoria, and also from the Johannesburg leaders. The first peremptorily vetoed the expedition,* the others comprised a hurriedly

* The words used were: "Her Majesty's Government entirely disapprove your conduct in invading the Transvaal with armed force; your action has been repudiated. You are ordered to retire at once from the country, and will be held personally responsible for the consequences of your unauthorized and most improper proceeding."

written note from Colonel Rhodes, with a post-script by Mr. Lionel Phillips. The latter were as follows—

“DEAR DOCTOR,

“The rumour of massacre at Johannesburg that started you to our relief was not true. We are all right. Feeling intense; we have armed quite a lot of men. I shall be very glad to see you. We are not in possession of the town. Would you like me to send you some men to show you the way? You are a fine fellow. Here’s wishing you good luck.

“Yours ever,

“F. RHODES.

“We will all drink a glass along with you,

“L. PHILLIPS.

“31st. 11.30. Kruger has asked for some of us from here to go over, and treat for armistice. They have agreed to this. My view is that they are in a funk at Pretoria, and they were wrong to agree from here.—F. R.”


This was an extraordinary document, in which the *sine quâ non* of success—military assistance—was almost ignored. The reply was a very strong hint that this help was indeed necessary. “Tell Colonel Rhodes,” said Dr. Jameson, “that it might be as well perhaps to send out an escort—say, a couple of hundred men, to conduct me in, just to show that I am not coming as a pirate.” The messengers were captured on their return by the enemy.

On marched the fated column, and about midday Krugersdorp was in sight. "Absit omen" might have been ejaculated by Jameson, for in the near neighbourhood of the Market Square of this town stands the Paardekraal Monument commemorating the triumph of the Boers in their war against British troops in 1881. Sir John Willoughby gave notice that, if opposition were encountered, Krugersdorp would be shelled, and the column advanced to its attack.

We are distinctly told by Jameson, in reply to the question, "Why did your force attack Krugersdorp?" that it was in consequence of a communication from Johannesburg that this fatal and foolish movement took place. He adds that it was against Sir John Willoughby's wish to move in that direction. "He explained to me an objection, which I knew nothing about, of military tactics, that it was a wrong thing for him to do; but the only reason was because I insisted upon it, and said that it was necessary to follow the instructions in that letter from Johannesburg. . . . It was a letter of three pages in length from one of my Agents, describing what my force was to do on my arrival in Krugersdorp in order to get into Johannesburg." * The Boer leaders must have felt like Cromwell when he saw the Scots army leaving a strong position. "The Lord has delivered them into our hands," was the exclamation on both occasions. There was now no chance whatsoever for the small column. Eight hundred Boers quickly assembled, and the "coigns of vantage" were sharply perceived and

* Minutes of Evidence before House of Commons' Committee (Dr. Jameson), p. 26. Members of the Reform Committee, Johannesburg, deny that such a letter was ever sent with their knowledge or consent.

quickly taken advantage of. The Queen Mining Company Battery House, surrounded by banks of "tailings," was one of these. The road to it was flanked by a plantation and various prospectors' workings, easily converted into rifle-pits. Then there was a vlei, or large pool of water, intermediate between the column and the Boer lines. Jameson's artillery was brought into play, and at first the only answer was from an old 7-pounder, but this was soon supplemented by a terrible fire from a line of invisible sharpshooters. A charge was now ordered, and the men rode gallantly forward; but when the horses splashed into the vlei, at 200 yards range from the Boers, the deadly fire of the enemy, lying on the ground concealed by stones and mudbanks, emptied a score of saddles. Off jumped the survivors and fired, resting their guns on the backs of their horses. Not only was the charge checked, but a cross fire was begun which could not possibly be withstood. The survivors had to turn round and gallop back, or crawl into sheltering beds of reeds to obtain cover. Thirty of these refugees were taken prisoners. At five o'clock in the afternoon of this fateful 1st of January the column divided into two parts, turned off the road, and began to move southwards. Two guides were now obtained, and soon the welcome sound of heavy rifle and Maxim fire was heard from the direction of Krugersdorp, only one and a half miles distant. Here are our friends pouring out to our assistance! The twenty thousand men of Johannesburg will never leave us in the lurch. Vain hope! After advancing towards the sound of firing, the Boers were seen to be moving in great force to meet them, and they were soon



perceived to be closing in on all sides. There was no resource but to bivouac in the veld, while sustaining a fire from the enemy which killed two troopers and several horses. These poor lads were buried so hurriedly that next day, the feet of one of them was seen sticking out of his grave.

Jameson had staked everything on a quick successful onset and junction with his friends. His friends had failed him.* "They were rushed," according to the mild verdict of Mr. Rhodes, and the leader of the men who had dared and done everything for their liberty was now a defeated and proscribed outlaw. A last request for succour from those for whom he was risking both reputation and life was sent into Johannesburg by Jameson at 4 a.m., January 2nd. He cries out, "I should like a force sent out to us." This message duly reached the town, and, when it was read by Colonel Rhodes, he lost no time in getting together 120 mounted men of Bettington's horse, armed with rifles, and despatching them to the theatre of action. This was, of course, reported to the Reform Committee when they met, and was denounced at once as perfect madness and complete breach of faith. They had consented to an armistice,† and must abide by it. This small force

* Their defence must be clearly borne in mind. They state that it was prearranged that Jameson was not to start until he received the signal from Johannesburg. This was not given, and messages were sent to him distinctly telling him not to come. He came in spite of all this, and they had a right to disavow him. If he had not started, everything would have come right—that is their view.

† There is a conflict of evidence about the armistice. Its existence is positively denied. It is only fair to state that in one narrative this contradiction is made, and we are informed that it was decided by a number of members of the Reform Committee to despatch a messenger to Bettington not to proceed more than ten miles from the town, but to reconnoitre, and should it be found Jameson actually needed help, to give

would be of no use, and they would all be ruined by it, consequently it was immediately to be recalled. It might have been imagined that a large force should under such circumstances have been sent : but no ; anything of the sort would offend the Boer Government, and take away the means of defending the town. A messenger accordingly rode after Bettington's troop, and stopped it, " by order of the Committee." Possibly, if this force had gone out, Jameson would not have been compelled to surrender.

Out of the wretched deserted column thirty or forty lads struggled through the Boer lines into Johannesburg. The remainder, as light came on, moved across the Potchefstroom Railway embankment, where, if they had chosen to use their Maxim guns, considerable execution would have been done. Then, when it was about seven o'clock, and they were being fired at from various mining properties, out came a proclamation, carried by a messenger from Sir Jacobus De Wet, calling upon all British subjects in the Transvaal " to abstain from giving the said Dr. Jameson any countenance or assistance." This was

it to him. It is asserted that the troop could not have reached him before his surrender. Before daybreak on January 2nd, Bugler Valle, of Dr. Jameson's force, arrived in the Reform Committee Room, Johannesburg, and reported that he had been despatched by the Doctor at about midnight after the battle of Krugersdorp. He had been supplied with the best horse they had, and was ordered to inform Colonel Rhodes that " I am getting on all right, but they must send out to meet me." The messenger was asked, " Do they want help ? " and the reply was, " No—but you must send out to meet him." Colonel Rhodes naturally said, " The Doctor wants help, but is ashamed to say so." Then the men were despatched under Colonel Bettington, but the Reform Committee feared an attack on the town on the north-west side, and the force was therefore ordered only to reconnoitre, and not go further than ten miles. " Should it be found he actually needed help, then give it to him." Another account is that the men were peremptorily recalled ; certainly they did not go to Jameson's assistance.

accompanied by a member of the Reform Committee, sent to say that, by arrangement with the Government, nothing could be done to help Jameson. The men who had been deserted by their own friends went on despondingly. A *détour* was made by a drift through Luipaard's Vlei to Vlakfontein, and at last at Farmer Brink's house, five or six miles south-east of Krugersdorp, they made their final stand. Although partially protected by an outbuilding and a cattle kraal, men and horses were falling fast. The Maxims were fired until they became too hot for use; one last rush was made, and failed, so, after having fought like brave men, they had to succumb to inexorable fate, and yield to an overwhelming force. The white apron of an old Hottentot woman became a flag of truce, and was first seen by seven Boers close at hand, who had just exhausted their ammunition. One of these men walked forward, and received the following note—

“ To the COMMANDANT OF TRANSVAAL FORCES.

“ We surrender provided that you guarantee a safe-conduct out of the country for every member of the force.

“ JOHN WILLOUGHBY.”

In a quarter of an hour the reply came back, which, translated, was,—

“ OFFICER,

“ Please take notice that I shall immediately let our officers come together to decide upon your communication.

“ COMMANDANT POTGIETER.”

Then, after the lapse of half an hour, the following important despatch came to hand :—

“ JOHN WILLOUGHBY,

“ I acknowledge your letter. The answer is that you will undertake to pay the expenses which you have caused the South African Republic, and that you will lay down your arms ; then I shall give you the life of you and yours. Please send me the reply to this within thirty minutes.

“ P. A. CRONJE,

“ *Commandant, Potchefstroom.*”

Of course these terms were immediately accepted, in a letter from Sir John Willoughby, “on the guarantee that the lives of the whole force are to be spared.” He adds, “I now await your instructions as to how and where we are to lay down our arms. At the same time, I would ask you to remember that my men have been without food for the last twenty-four hours.” Then, and not before, according to Commandant Cronje’s sworn statement, orders arrived from Commandant General Joubert that the troops should be given five minutes to lay down their arms unconditionally, otherwise the firing was to be resumed. Commandant Malan at the same time arrived, scolded Cronje for having made any agreement and thus exceeded his authority ; * while, turning

* This subject having been submitted to the Authorities at the War Office (by no means a friendly tribunal), they decided that Mr. Cronje, on the occasion in question, acted as an officer in authority, and guaranteed the lives of Dr. Jameson and his men if they laid down their arms. The terms prescribed were accepted and carried out. “I am therefore to acquaint you that the Secretary of State for War concurs with Mr. Chamberlain in

to Jameson, he pointedly said, "Your life and your Officers' lives we do not promise to spare. We shall hand you over to the Government at Pretoria, and they will decide what is to be done with you." Dr. Jameson merely bowed in reply.*

While these transactions were taking place there was nothing but confusion, distracted counsels, and unpreparedness in the Camp of the Conspirators. Their complete condemnation is found in the fact that there were not more than 2500 rifles in Johannesburg, and no adequate supply of ammunition. They were as much bereft of information as they were of munitions of war—knew nothing of the terms of Jameson's surrender, and used the name of that unfortunate leader as a means of sheltering themselves. The plan said by Knickerbocker† to have been adopted in the early days of New York by the Dutch, in fighting "by Proclamation," was assiduously followed from first to last by the "Reform Committee." On the 31st of December, 1895, they declared, through the *Star* newspaper, non-sympathy with the entry into the

considering that the surrender was completed on Sir John Willoughby's acceptance of Commandant Cronje's terms, and was subject to these terms and conditions."

* Trooper Black fell into the hands of Boer scouts, and was taken to a farmhouse near Blaauwbank. It is said that there he was tied up and beaten, and it is stated by a woman who gave him water when he was half mad with thirst, that his face had been smashed by a blow from a rifle-butt. When unable to bear the treatment any longer, Black stood up, and tearing his shirt open, cried out, "Shoot here—my heart is in the right place." He was then untied and allowed to ride off, but before he had gone far was shot. Commissioner Piet Grobler said, "Oh, Black was a very insolent fellow; we could do nothing with him." A so-called inquiry followed, in which the man who shot Black was asked no questions.

† "Knickerbocker's History of New York, by Washington Irving." Nothing is more evident than the fact that the members of the Reform Committee were not composed of the stuff of which conspirators are made.

Republic of an armed force from the Bechuanaland side, and denied having been "any way privy to the lamentable step." * At the same time a deputation, consisting of Mr. Lionel Phillips, J. G. Auret, W. E. Hudson, D. Lingham, and Max Langermann, was despatched to interview the Pretoria Government. Their allegiance to the flag of the Republic was declared by solemnly hoisting the Vier Kleur over the offices of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company. Then came another Proclamation declaring adherence to the National Union manifesto, and a desire to maintain the independence of the Republic. An earnest desire was also expressed that "the inhabitants should refrain from taking any action which can be construed as an overt act of hostility against the Government." Nevertheless, arms and ammunition had been served out through the night at both the Gold Fields Office and the Simmer and Jack Mines, recruiting went on, companies were formed, and the mass of the people undoubtedly looked hopefully forward to the advent of Jameson, their deliverer. The Conspirators were most liberal where money was concerned, and among fifteen firms no less than £76,000 was speedily subscribed in aid of a Relief Fund for the assistance of those who might suffer from the movement. Then came another "Proclamation," in the form of a great speech from Mr. Advocate Leonard, in which he said that every precaution which prudence, combined with capital military knowledge could use, had been taken

* They certainly did their best by telegrams, messages, etc., to prevent him coming in, and declare the compact to have been, that he was not to start until he received a last definite invitation.

to ensure the safety of the town! There was an adequate force adequately equipped(!) and practically a Provisional Government. The town was well policed, order prevailed, and, in another great manifesto, we are told that "some 7000 or 8000 persons assembled between the chains, and Mr. Leonard spoke from the balcony of Eckstein's Building. They had," this orator declared, "borne with tyranny long enough, and the people were going to tell the tyrants once for all that they were face to face with the issue. Let them not fear men born and bred on the same soil as themselves."

President Kruger now easily caught the Committee in his toils. There was to be a great conference, to extend over twenty-four hours, and Deputies accordingly came over from Pretoria, and met at the "Gold Fields." This place was turned into a Citadel, where armed guards kept constant watch, and passwords were habitually used. The gentlemen from Government merely invited a deputation of the Reform Committee to go to Pretoria. This invitation was accepted, and a commission, consisting of Chief Justice Kotze, Judge Ameshoff, and Mr. Kock, was duly waited upon. On this occasion Mr. Phillips mentioned that the Reform Committee members were aware of Dr. Jameson being on the border with an armed force, and had an arrangement with him in writing to come to their help if called upon; but he added that he had crossed the border without their knowledge or consent. It was very naturally said in reply, "If you have arms in your hands, and have invited Jameson, then you are rebels." "You may call us what you like: we only ask for justice, and

we shall stand by Jameson," was the rejoinder of Mr. Phillips.

The deputation then offered their own persons as hostages that Dr. Jameson would leave Johannesburg peacefully if allowed peacefully to enter that town.

Then the Government Commission easily obtained from these very undiplomatic conspirators a complete list of the members of the Committee, which was used a week afterwards for the purpose of arresting them. Having elicited everything necessary, the Chief Justice produced and read the decision of the Executive, couched in the following words: "Sir Hercules Robinson offered his services with a view to a peaceful settlement. The Government of the South African Republic has accepted his offer. Pending his arrival no steps will be taken against Johannesburg, providing Johannesburg takes no hostile action against the Government. In terms of the Proclamation recently issued by the President, the grievances will be earnestly considered."

Then this very sanguine and extraordinary deputation of conspirators went back quite elated to Johannesburg. Libations of champagne were poured forth to emphasize the fact that "all we wanted has been obtained." This fool's paradise, however, was of short duration. Wednesday, January 1, 1896, is a day to be ever memorable in the history of Johannesburg. Jameson was on his way, and there was unbounded confidence in the hero who had with a small force pulverized the last and greatest savage monarchy of Southern Africa. What he did successfully in Matabeleland he ought to be able to do in the Transvaal. The people were told by the Reform

Committee, whose aberrations were as frequent as extraordinary, that "what was initially a grave crime on the part of Dr. Jameson, his gallant officers and brave men, becomes, by sheer stress of events, a magnificent achievement. *Its success will silence all criticisms of his conduct.*"* . . . The Boer Government will go down, to be replaced by one of our own creation under the same flag. For the present, as desperate men, we have no time to consider the welter of international complications which may possibly arise. We have to establish ourselves in possession of the reins of Government first: reflection will have to come afterwards. There is no backward path, and no returning." In all this war of proclamations no more dangerous petard than this was issued. Everything was now set upon one cast—the success of Jameson. However, as an attempt to hedge, the Imperial Government was held responsible for the actions of the Doctor, and the High Commissioner was imperatively urged to come up at once "to prevent civil war and establish peace."

On the fateful 1st of January, 1896, a panic seems to have seized the whole Reform Committee, as they wire to Sir Hercules Robinson, "We have absolute information that large numbers of Boers are commanded to attack Johannesburg at once, and are authorized by the Commandant-General to shoot at

* What becomes, then, of the moral code? How true it is that it is absolutely necessary for the safety of society that there should be dogma without doubt, and a moral rule of conduct flowing from it which cannot be challenged. Dr. Jameson honestly says, "I know perfectly well that, as I have not succeeded, the natural thing has happened; but I also know that if I had succeeded I should have been forgiven—that was the position" (Dr. Jameson before the House of Commons' Committee, p. 265).

sight all who are concerned in the present agitation. Matters are so critical that we call upon you again to intervene to protect the lives and properties of citizens who have for years agitated constitutionally for their rights." The mass of the Johannesburg people enjoyed the bliss of ignorance. They could not know that there were neither guns nor ammunition to fight with, and that Jameson had become a deserted outlaw—abandoned both by the British Government and the Reform Committee. They were really fooled. If they had known the facts then, probably the lives of the members of the Reform Committee would by no means have been safe. Mr. Lionel Phillips came forward and declared, amidst immense cheering, that they "intended to stand by Dr. Jameson." "If necessary, they were prepared to continue the movement they had seen fit to commence with their guns." At this moment the looked-for saviour of the people was lying on the bare ground, exposed to the dropping fire of the Boers.

On Thursday, January 2, 1896, there was to have been a great gathering, comprising the Afrikaner Corps 1100 strong, the Scottish Brigade of 1300 men, and also corps representative of Irish, Welsh, Australians, Natalians, etc. What magnificent material, and how miserably managed! At this exact time poor Jameson was fighting for his life in the Doornkop trap, and, having vainly called for aid, was forced to surrender. The limitations of the logic of those who believe that the end justifies the means are very extraordinary. "Success will silence all criticism" are the words of the Committee—why then should the Armistice, or any other seeming barrier

prevent every man who could bear arms rushing out to succour Jameson? If really there were an armistice, the supreme folly of agreeing to it is evident—but why conspirators should keep faith in one case, and not in another, is difficult to understand. The truth is, that the easy-going “money-bags” were not clever enough for the work of the revolution, and did not understand the business. Their first plan was not more unjustifiable than any other of the absurdities attributed to them. It was to seize upon Pretoria, the President, and Arsenal, by means of a small armed force; and possibly an attempt would have been made to carry this modern Gowrie Plot into execution but for the discovery that Nachtmaal (Sacrament) was held in the capital of the Transvaal at the close of December, and that on this religious occasion an unusually large number of Dutch Boers would assemble in Pretoria.

The commonest and most rudimentary revolutionary measures were not taken. There was neither desperation nor villainy in the hearts of the good-natured champagne drinkers, who posted guards and regulated passwords in a burlesque-opera style at the Gold Fields Office. The railway was left to carry Boer troops and ammunition, while an implicit confidence in “something turning up”—Jameson or the High Commissioner—appeared along with various beverages to keep up the spirits of the Conspirators. The large crowd was unmistakably on the side of Jameson, and this monster had to be pacified. The Hon. J. W. Leonard stated to it that “Jameson was not surrounded, neither had he surrendered, and he was sure that, if his hearers were the men he took

them to be, they would believe his statement." Then, amid great enthusiasm, the crowd learned that "Jameson was fighting his way into town against heavy odds." Many of the members of the Committee firmly believed all this, and the knotty subject of whether or not assistance should be given to their saviour when he arrived at the town outposts was under discussion when, like a thunderbolt, the news arrived that the dauntless Doctor had surrendered hours ago, after cursing them for a lot of cowards.

If the Johannesburg crowd had been Frenchmen they would unmistakably have declared that they were betrayed. The statement would be perfectly accurate, but it was incompetence and misunderstandings which were the causes of the treason. The success of Jameson in Matabeleland made him too confident, and the incapacity of the Reform Committee for revolution led them into blunders which really became crimes. Their cause was thoroughly good, but the means they adopted were opposed to International law, and consequently exposed the members of the Reform Committee to arrest, trial, and punishment. The crowd now furiously clamoured, and the Committee recognized that "at this juncture the interests of Dr. Jameson are paramount," and, for fear he should be shot, every one tried to keep quiet.

The general public did not love the Reform Committee, and a strong feeling existed against it for consenting to any armistice which did not include Jameson. Previously there had been a strong feeling shown, but now it culminated in a demand that a People's Committee should be formed. Fortunately

at this juncture Inspector Trimble's force of one thousand police kept excellent order. Reflecting general public sentiment, the *Star* "declared that a brilliant career has ended in glorious ignominy. The ignominy will be but a fleeting shadow, the lurid glory of Dr. Jameson's epic march and surrender will be held in passionate remembrance so long as the hearts of Englishmen—nay, so long as the hearts of all who are men—continue to beat true to their best traditions. Dr. Jameson was a hero before; he is ten times a hero to-day." It was said, at the same time, that, happily for the country, for the armistice, and for the Government itself, no stern revengeful orders had been given for the actual annihilation of the column.

The people at Johannesburg were busy declaiming against the Reform Committee for failing to rescue Jameson, while the Revolutionary junta, through their organ in the press, declared that they blamed the paralyzing intervention of the High Commissioner. "We blame the departure from all implied by the original resolution to raise the Transvaal flag." They go on to say that, if the intention of the High Commissioner were for the Imperial authority to come in at all, he should have intervened at an earlier stage. At the same time the city was pronounced to be, beyond doubt, in a position of adequate defence!

A communication from Her Majesty's agent at Pretoria arrived, in which it was stated that the President had given his assurance that Johannesburg would not be invested or surrounded by Burghers, provided that no acts of hostility against the Government, or breaking of the law, were permitted. The

Committee then issued a notice, stating that, in order to avoid any possibility of collision, definite orders had been given, and that the matter was now left to the mediation of the High Commissioner.

Væ Victis. Five hundred mounted Boers with rifles in their hands now entered Johannesburg; and, after they had gone, a civic body-guard, consisting of 800 Germans and Hollanders, went swaggering and exultant through the streets of the town. It had always been complained that an Oligarchy ruled the Republic, but it seems to have escaped notice that the Reform Committee itself was merely an Oligarchy whose proceedings were virtually directed by an inner ring of capitalists. They deserve credit, however, for the best intentions, and for lavishly spending money and time without any sordid motive. Good-natured, generous men, as much able to deal with a revolution as to command a fleet, they not only spent their money, but they bore their defeat and punishment like men, suffering imprisonment and punishment with fortitude and courage. Their cause was a most excellent one, but their plan of bringing in an armed force into a town destitute of arms and ammunition was as indefensible as it was foolish. It must be always borne in mind that every possible effort had been used in vain to obtain reforms, to which the community was justly entitled. No doubt there are numbers of people who will say that the Reform Committee was perfectly justified in having recourse to arms. This indeed is a serious question. A study of all the circumstances will, however, almost compel an impartial observer to arrive at the conclusion that the Johannesburg

conspirators were in the wrong. One of their most serious errors was that of failing to appreciate the fact that the course pursued by them infused race hatred into the breasts of two peoples, and even rendered a civil war more than possible.*

The High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, reinstated in office at the special desire of Mr. Rhodes, then in close alliance with the Afrikander Bond, was now an old and cautious statesman, thoroughly impressed with the fact that the people of Dutch extraction were more numerous than the English in the Cape Colony, and perfectly determined to keep friendly with them, for the sake of peace, a quiet life, and no trouble with Downing Street. He knew absolutely nothing about the Raid, although a younger man of more active intelligence might have suspected that there was something important on the tapis, when he found inadequate excuses submitted to him in explanation of persistent massing of police and irregulars on the Transvaal border. Certainly his Lieutenants—Sir Graham Bower and Mr. Newton—were well informed, but they joined by their silence in the conspiracy. When the Revolution had collapsed the High Commissioner proceeded to Pretoria, and the authorities there soon saw that they had a timid man to deal with, who was determined at all hazards to patch up peace. We cannot, then, be surprised to find that on the 6th of January, 1896, Her Majesty's Agent in Pretoria informs the Reform Committee that, as a sequence of a meeting

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The High Commissioner called upon the Johannesburg people to lay down their arms because the lives of Jameson and the prisoners were practically in their hands. He did not, evidently, take the trouble to find out the conditions of the capitulation, or he would have seen that the lives of the raiders had been guaranteed. One interview, even by deputy, with Jameson would have sufficed for the purpose. The arms were delivered up, but very naturally the Pretoria Government could not believe that this was done, when only 2000 rifles were handed in. They

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In order to be fair to the Reform Committee and to the people of Johannesburg, it must be remembered that the financiers, having seen all constitutional efforts fail, did their best to obtain a good Government by using Rhodes and Jameson. The half dozen men who spent their time and money on this object worked with pure motives and with generous disregard of expenditure ; but it is really questionable whether they ever meant to fight,—or did they so overrate Jameson's power and underrate that of the enemy, as to think that they could succeed without an adequate supply of guns and ammunition ? The people of Johannesburg were not in the movement, although, when matters came to a crisis, the little financial Oligarchy then opened its arms and made the movement embrace a number of well-meaning lawyers, miners, and commercial men. The Reform Committee then began to exist, as the creation of a small Oligarchy, and the greatest ignorance prevailed about the scope of its operations. "The people of Johannesburg" really never came into the business. It is unjust to style any persons cowards, and the members of the Reform Committee bitterly reproach Doctor Jameson with a distinct breach of agreement, by coming to Johannesburg contrary to a stipulation, providing that he was not to move until specially

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suppose that his political judgment was so fettered by the proprieties of Downing Street. It was for us to deplore civil war which is always deplorable. *They* had declared themselves ready, if forced to make it. . . . When the mass of people suddenly realized their disgrace, and in a passion of shame and anguish turn on the Committee, one of these gentlemen looks out of a window, and declares, like Mrs. Micawber, that it is no use asking him—the Committee will never desert Dr. Jameson.”

CHAPTER V.

THE RAID AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

LIKE a bolt from the blue the news of the Raid had come to Cape Town. Three words signified Cæsar's triumph: three words were adequate to communicate Jameson's defeat—he had left, been attacked, and surrendered. It must be admitted, because the evidence on the subject is irrefragably clear, that Mr. Chamberlain,* through the High Commissioner, sternly forbade any raid whenever he heard of its possibility; and that Mr. Rhodes, although in favour of a revolution, was opposed to an advance at this particular moment.

Dramatic and pathetic scenes took place when Mr. Schreiner, the beloved friend of Mr. Rhodes, went to see his political leader at Groot Schuur. The Attorney-General must have been a little suspicious of the Prime Minister, because on Sunday

* "It has been suggested," says the Colonial Secretary, wiring on the 29th of December, 1895, to the High Commissioner, "although I do not think it probable, that an endeavour might be made to force matters at Johannesburg to a head by some one in the service of the Company advancing from Bechuanaland Protectorate with police. . . . Remind Rhodes of these articles, and intimate to him that, in your opinion, he would not have any support, and point out the consequences." Mr. Rhodes telegraphed to the best of his ability, and honestly wrote to Sir Graham Bower, "Jameson has gone in without my authority. I hope our messages may have stopped him."

he had said, "For goodness' sake keep yourself clear from that entanglement at Johannesburg. If there is any disturbance they are sure to try and mix you up with it." On the Monday, very late, Mr. Schreiner went into the study of Mr. Rhodes, and, the moment he saw him, beheld a man whom he had never seen before, so dreadfully dejected and sorrowful was his aspect. Before a word could be said, the Prime Minister cried out—

"Yes, yes ! it is true : old Jameson has upset my apple-cart. It is all true."

"What do you mean ? What can you mean ?" was the response.

"Yes, it is quite true : he has ridden in. Go and write out your resignation. I know you will."

"It is not a question of my going to write out my resignation," Mr. Schreiner answered. In his evidence he says further, "During this entire interview Mr. Rhodes was really broken down. He was not the man who could be playing that part ; if he did, he is the best actor I have ever seen. He was absolutely broken down in spirit, and ruined."

"Why do you not stop him ?"

"Poor old Jameson !" said Mr. Rhodes. "Twenty years we have been friends, and now he goes in and ruins me. I cannot hinder him. I cannot go and destroy him."

The Prime Minister desperately kept his cabinet intact on the forlorn hope that it would hold together sufficiently long to enable Jameson to enter Johannesburg. Neither the Governor nor the Secretary of State would allow him to withdraw as long as there was the slightest hope of his co-operating

with them ; but, at last, when the High Commissioner was on his way to Pretoria, a telegram accepted the resignation of Mr. Rhodes, and he retired from office amidst the outcries and vituperations of the very men for whom, without the slightest sordid motive, he had rashly risked place, honour, and reputation. For there can be no doubt, in any impartial mind, that he acted quite as much in the interests of the Bond and the people of Dutch extraction, as in that of the other citizens of the Empire in Southern Africa. His own justification should be given in his own words. He tells us, through the Committee of the House of Commons, that "From the date of the establishment of the gold industry on a large scale at Johannesburg much discontent was caused by the restrictions and impositions placed upon it by the Transvaal Government ; by the corrupt administration of the Government ; and by the denial of civil rights to the rapidly growing Uitlander population. This discontent gradually but steadily increased, and, a considerable time ago, I learned, from my intercourse with many of the leading persons in Johannesburg, that the position of affairs there had become intolerable. After long efforts they despaired of obtaining redress by constitutional means, and were resolved to seek, by extra-constitutional means, such a change in the Government of the South African Republic as should give to the majority of the population possessing more than half the land, nine-tenths of the wealth, and paying nineteen twentieths of the taxes of the country, a due share in its administration. I sympathized with them, and, as one largely interested in the Transvaal, shared

in these grievances; and, further, as a citizen of the Cape Colony, I felt that the persistently unfriendly attitude of the Government of the South African Republic towards the Colony was the great obstacle to common action for practical purposes among the various States of South Africa. Under these circumstances, I assisted the movement in Johannesburg with my purse and influence. Further, acting within my rights, in the autumn of 1895, I placed on territory under the administration of the British South Africa Company, upon the border of the Transvaal, a body of troops under Dr. Jameson, prepared to act in the Transvaal under certain eventualities. I did not communicate these views to the Board of Directors of the British South Africa Company. With reference to the Jameson raid, I may state that Dr. Jameson went in without my authority. Having said this, I desire to add that I am willing generally to accept the finding as to facts contained in the Report of the Committee of the Cape Parliament.* I must admit that in all my actions I was greatly influenced by my belief that the policy of the present Government of the South African Republic was to introduce the influence of another foreign Power † into the already complicated system of South

* It was not a Committee of the Cape Parliament, but only a Committee of the House of Assembly, or lower branch of the Cape Legislature. Its conclusions were not considered or agreed to by the Legislative Council. The inquiry took place in a time of heated passion, when calm impartiality was almost impossible, and some of the men who sat as judges showed their partiality by speeches full of heated invective.

† That of Germany. President Kruger had distinctly said, "I shall ever promote the interests of Germany. The child is being trodden on by one great Power, and naturally seeks protection from another." The telegrams which came to light distinctly show the serious political "flirtation" between Germany and the South African Republic—the

Africa, and thereby render more difficult, in the future, the closer union of the different States.* In his subsequent evidence, Mr. Rhodes makes the important statement (page 7) that Jameson's force was placed at Pitsani, not necessarily to raid in, but to be used probably in certain eventualities. "Take a case now. If there had been what I may term a defensive revolution in Johannesburg, that force would never have been used. A week before, the Reform Committee members went over and saw the President. These people, on interviewing Kruger, received promises from him that he would make certain changes which they desired. In that case there would have been no revolution. That is why I used the words 'in certain eventualities.'" Mr. Rhodes also made it perfectly clear that he never consulted the Board of the British South Africa Company; and we know that he stood alone, and did not in any way bring the High Commissioner or the members of the Cape Ministry into complicity with his designs.

The conclusion of the Committee of the House of Commons was, that great discontent had, for some time previous to the incursion, existed in Johannesburg, arising from the grievances of the Uitlanders; and that Mr. Rhodes had used all his influence in the control of a great combination of interests to promote and assist his policy. He was, therefore, inevitably involved in grave breaches of duty to those to whom he owed allegiance. The Raid is absolutely and unqualifiedly condemned. The result caused, for the

former hoping to obtain Transvaal trade, and territorial advantages; the latter trusting to weaken, and possibly eventually remove, British Imperial rule in Southern Africa.

* "Select Committee, House of Commons," pp. 2, 3.

time being, grave injury to British influence in South Africa. Public confidence was shaken, race feeling embittered, and serious difficulties were created with neighbouring States. The Cape House of Assembly Report contains a useful recapitulation of facts based on evidence ; but it is damned, in the eyes of all impartial persons, by omitting all reference to the grievances of the Uitlanders—really the *fons* and *origo* of the revolution and Raid. Neither is a word said about the evident endeavour of Germany to obtain influence over the politics and commerce of the South African Republic. This document was, it is said, drafted by Mr. Merriman,* one of the most pronounced enemies of Mr. Rhodes. It says little, however, for the perspicuity and impartiality of the other members of the Committee that they should be parties to a Report in which only one side of the question is adequately referred to. The Report is not very clear nor brilliant in its conclusions. Something very like animus is shown against the Chartered Company, as well as against the late Prime Minister ; and we are told that there is “an absence of any such peremptory command from Mr. Rhodes direct to Dr. Jameson, not on any account to take action, as might reasonably have been expected from one resolutely determined to do all in his power to prevent a subordinate officer from committing a gross breach of the law.” Of course it is clear from the evidence that Mr. Rhodes did everything a man could do to stop Jameson. Rightly enough the

* On the occasion of a subsequent election contest, letters were read from Mr. Merriman, dated previously to the Raid, and addressed to a correspondent in Johannesburg, approving of a revolution.

Committee cannot relieve the former Prime Minister from responsibility for the unfortunate occurrences which took place, and it is stated that the part taken by Mr. Rhodes in the organization which led to the inroad headed by Dr. Jameson was not consistent with the duties of his office as first Minister of the Crown in the Cape Colony. Sir Thomas Upington, the Attorney-General, signed a minority Report, in which, on technical grounds, a verdict of "not proven" is returned.

Dr. Jameson's statement laid before the House of Commons' Committee ought to be read carefully by every one desirous of really gauging his motives, character, and conduct. Here is a gallant gentleman profoundly impressed, after adequate inquiry, with the infamous misrule of the South African Republic, and convinced that the people would never get their rights without force. He thoroughly believed that the Uitlander population generally had not hurriedly, but after grave and prolonged deliberation, come to the conclusion that their grievances would never be redressed without more than a mere threat to resort to force, and that there must inevitably be a revolution. He imbued Mr. Rhodes with these views and opinions. President Kruger was to be compelled under a *plebiscite* to so alter the Government as to secure a good Republic in the place of a corrupt Oligarchy. Unfortunately Dr. Jameson, as well as Mr. Rhodes, did not see that the end can never justify the means. They were both wrong, but then they were honestly mistaken. The wonderful successes of a small band of Pioneers directed against the greatest Native power of Southern Africa seemed to blind

“No,” said Mr. Rhodes, “I shall not pretend.”

Mr. Hofmeyr discovered, without loss of time, that neither the High Commissioner nor any member of the Colonial Ministry, except its chief, were parties to the Raid, or, indeed, knew more about it than he did. A proclamation was then virtually dictated to Sir Hercules Robinson by this Tribune of the people, in which Dr. Jameson and all persons accompanying him were commanded immediately to retire from the territory of the South African Republic, under pain of the penalties attached to their illegal proceedings; and all British subjects were called upon to abstain from giving this arch raider any countenance or assistance in his armed violation of the territory of a friendly State. The Home Government spoke out with no uncertain sound. Mr. Chamberlain cabled, “You should represent to Mr. Rhodes the true character of Dr. Jameson’s action in breaking into a foreign State which is in friendly treaty relations with Her Majesty in time of peace. It is an act of war, or rather of filibustering. If the Government of the South African Republic had been overthrown, or had there been anarchy in Johannesburg, there might have been some shadow of excuse for this unprecedented act.” The last words are significant. A gross blunder had been committed, and for this blunder certainly Mr. Chamberlain was not responsible.

Perhaps it can be said that Dr. Jameson was one of the real originators of the conspiracy. His observations in Johannesburg formed the basis of a report to Mr. Rhodes. Then in the minds of both men arose the determination to free the Uitlander from a

corrupt Government, release the gold industry from unjust shackles, and strengthen the British paramount rule in South Africa against the plots and manœuvres of Germany; while, at the same time, federation in South Africa would be made more feasible. Most unfortunately for South Africa, neither Mr. Rhodes nor Dr. Jameson saw their duty in the light of the Committee of the British House of Commons. No doubt they were wrong; there was, however, no mean recrimination after disaster, and the penalties of defeat were borne with manliness and courage.

We have seen that the High Commissioner went promptly to Pretoria. The Reform Committee invited him to intervene for the purpose of "protecting the lives and properties of citizens who have for years agitated constitutionally for their rights." The President of the South African Republic subsequently sent a telegraphic message, stating that he "accepted His Excellency's offer, delivered by Sir Jacobus de Wet, to go to Pretoria to assist to prevent further bloodshed, as I have received information that Dr. Jameson has not given effect to your orders, and has fired on my burghers." Indeed, in all respects the unfortunate Raiders and conspirators had put themselves completely in the wrong. Sir Hercules Robinson knew the feeling in the Cape Colony, where the larger portion of the population consisted of people of Dutch extraction, and was desirous, at all costs, of keeping peace. Then came the great humiliation consequent on fiasco and defeat. We have seen already that the authorities of the Transvaal very soon gauged the timid disposition

of the High Commissioner, and made laying down arms unconditionally a necessary preliminary to any discussion. Henceforth Johannesburg, with its wealthy politicians and its mob, was virtually at the mercy of the Pretoria * Oligarchy. Sir Sidney Shippard, and Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British Resident, used all their eloquence to inculcate submission, and the trump card used was, "Jameson's life hangs upon your decision."

The High Commissioner, having received a broad hint from the Pretoria Government that he was no longer wanted, returned to Cape Town. The Reform Committee having tumbled to pieces, and its members having been arrested, their trial came on in due course. It is necessary to say that these members considered themselves to be amnestied, and looked upon their arrest as an act of treachery. First, however, we must refer to the fate of Dr. Jameson and his men and officers, who duly arrived in England, and were committed for trial at Bow Street, on charges framed under the Foreign Enlistment Act. The trial at bar took place, in July, 1896, before Lord Russell of Killowen, the Chief Justice ; Baron Pollock,

* It is distinctly stated, and it is asserted that there are witnesses to prove it, that Sir Jacobus de Wet guaranteed that none of those who submitted should be prosecuted. This was pleaded afterwards. Of course the British Agent had no authority to give such an undertaking, and it is denied that he said the words attributed to him. It is easy to believe, however, that in the warmth of oratory thought desirable on such an occasion, some words may have escaped which were interpreted in the sense referred to. The Reform Committee had great reason to think themselves badly treated. So far as the High Commissioner is concerned, he seems, from the time he left Pretoria, to have erased them from his memory. Mr. Chamberlain recognized that the moment was not opportune for redress of grievances, but observed that the arrest of a few score of people did not justify denying reforms to an overwhelming majority of innocent persons.

and Mr. Justice Hawkins, with a special jury. The trial lasted seven days, and the charge of the Presiding Judge was remarkable for its stern severity. He told the jury that an offence against the Foreign Enlistment Act was committed whenever any one equipped, fitted out, or in any way took part in preparing, on British soil an expedition intended to operate against a friendly State. The offence is complete when the intention is present. Any subject of the Queen aiding, abetting, or procuring such an expedition is equally an offender against the law. Following upon a verdict of guilty, the sentences of imprisonment imposed were fifteen months in the case of Dr. Jameson, ten months in that of Sir John Willoughby, and five months in each of the other cases. They were treated as first-class misdemeanants. Major Coventry, because of his severe wound, was released after a week's imprisonment; and in December the authorities were compelled to set Dr. Jameson at large, because of the serious state of his health, caused by being kept in a state of confinement during slow recovery from a painful operation. The Commissions of all the officers implicated were eventually restored with the exception of that of Sir John Willoughby.

A great State prosecution now commenced in Pretoria. The trial began on the 24th of April, 1896, before Mr. Justice Gregorowski,* an Orange Free

* Mr. Justice Morrice of the Transvaal bench was ignored and passed over. Advocate Rose-Innes, Q.C., was sent by the Imperial Government to watch the case for British subjects who were prisoners. It is noticeable that Dr. Coster, the Prosecutor, first consented to accept bail and afterwards declined. The prisoners pleaded "guilty" to what they thought was purposely made a nominal offence. The leaders pleaded the

State lawyer specially imported to try this case, in consequence of all the Transvaal Judges, except Mr. Justice Morrice, having acted with the Executive Council during the Raid. Curiously enough, the necessary approval by the Volksraad of his appointment was not obtained until after the trial.

Certainly the most rabid member of the Legislature of the South African Republic must have been satisfied by this legal luminary, who could not possibly have been more harsh or severe. At this time there were alarming rumours of "bloody complots," the cypher messages saw the light, and false accusations were rife about arming Kafirs on the Rand, stirring up Native Chiefs to attack the Transvaal, and the Chartered Company rehabilitating its finances by taking possession of the Transvaal Gold Mines.

The proceedings at the trial were exceedingly brief. On representations that it was wise to yield, four of the prisoners pleaded guilty of treason, and the rest of *Lese Majeste*. On the 28th of April sentence of death was passed on the four leading conspirators who signed the letter dated 28th December, 1895, inviting Jameson to come to the relief of Johannesburg. These men were George Farrar, Lionel Phillips, Colonel Rhodes, and John Hays Hammond; while the others were to be imprisoned for two years, pay a fine of £2000 each, or

disabilities suffered and the impossibility of obtaining reforms. Major Heany and Captain Holden were specially sent to keep Jameson back. "He came—no recourse but to prepare to defend ourselves against attack." The Reform Committee was formed on the night of December 30th, and in its manifesto reiterates desire "to maintain the independence of the Republic. On December 31st they hoisted the flag of the S. A. Republic."

an extra year's imprisonment, and be banished from the Republic for three years.

The severity of this sentence caused a thrill of horror and surprise throughout South Africa. So early as the 29th of April the Secretary of State for the Colonies informed the House of Commons that he had telegraphed to President Kruger an expression of confidence that the death sentences would be commuted. This was a sad time of suspense and suffering for the prisoners, who, huddled together in horrid discomfort within the confines of a rough corrugated iron shed, displayed great fortitude under the awful burden of misfortune which overwhelmed them. The insanitary condition of the place was terrible, and the hardships which had to be borne were so severe that the district surgeon remonstrated with the Government. When, however, on the 16th of May, one of the poor victims, named Grey,* became mad, and committed suicide, a gloom was cast over South Africa; and at last the rulers of the Transvaal Republic began to act with common humanity to the

* The despair of Grey's young wife, who waited in vain for her husband, was one of the melancholy features in this case. The hatred with which the chief of the Hollanders, Dr. Leyd, Secretary of State, was always regarded by the English was at this time accentuated by the statement that, when the prisoners were on the march to gaol, this high Officer of Government stood conspicuously at the Government Buildings, ostentatiously laughing at them.

Mr. FitzPatrick, the Secretary of the Reform Committee, was cruelly confined in a cell, the floor of which was covered with water, where he suffered agonies from neuralgia, and where the gaoler imperiously told him that he would yet make him go on his knees to the Government. By means of heavy payments, the prisoners obtained eventually good food and various comforts. For two days all the prisoners had ordinary prison fare, and slept upon the floor—each of them getting two thin blankets. In their opinion they were arrested by treachery, and tried by a packed Court. President Kruger did not want petitions. He said, "I would pay more heed to a petition from fifty of my Burghers than to one from the whole of Johannesburg."

unfortunate scape-goats in their power. The sentence of death was commuted to that of fifteen years' imprisonment. Mr. Lionel Phillips, who was sick, was sent to hospital; eight prisoners were liberated on payment of their fines; and the sentence on the others was reduced to various short terms, extending from three months to twelve months, while, at the same time, it was notified that the question of their release would be favourably considered if they petitioned the Executive Government.

In truth the punishment exceeded the offence. No doubt there was a conspiracy—but the aggravation was terrible, and the members of the Reform Committee were generous men, who really joined a movement of which they knew very little. They considered the object in view to be good, and believed that men of character, influence, and wealth would adopt no means but those which were justifiable. At this time it was said, with much apparent truth, that the system adopted by the Transvaal Executive was that of doling out magnanimity by inches. The policy of silence had failed, and an historical opportunity now presented itself. *The Cape Times* cried out, "What we want to see, then, is that all the Towns of South Africa—for they are all at one, they only wait for the signal—should on this subject of the prisoners speak out, and speak together." This was done. Advocate Rose-Innes joined the movement; a great meeting was held in the Good Hope Hall in Cape Town. The Bond itself, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce, determined to send delegates to Pretoria. On the 10th of June a deputation of more than fifty Mayors assembled in the capital of

the South African Republic, and the agitation was successful.* At first all the leaders, with the exception of Messrs. Sampson and Davies,† who would sign no petition to the Executive, were released on payment of fines, and entering into a bond to renounce politics ; while eventually, in June, the four leaders were pardoned, upon paying a fine of £25,000 each, and agreeing to have nothing to do with Transvaal politics for fifteen years. Colonel Rhodes, who refused to sign this agreement, was conducted to the Frontier.

As an appendix to the work of punishment, Mr. Gardner Williams, General Manager of De Beer's Company, was arrested at Kimberley, convicted of the offence of smuggling arms over the Cape Railways, and fined £30 ; while Mr. F. F. Rutherfoord, a Cape Town merchant, was fined £20 for a mere technical offence against the Colonial Law.

A nation, like an individual, can become intensely nervous and suspicious. This was now the case with the Boers of the South African Republic. From their point of view, a most atrocious and extraordinary violation of all law had just been committed. They profoundly distrusted the Government of the United

* President Kruger was most insulting when the great South African Deputation waited upon him. "You must know," he said, "that I have sometimes to punish my dogs, and I find that there are dogs of two kinds. Some of them who are good come back and lick my boots. Others get away at a distance and snarl at me. I see that some are still snarling. I hope you are not like them. It is very well to punish the little dogs, but some one should punish the big dog" (Rhodes). Mr. Kruger wished the fine to be £40,000 cash on each of the four chief offenders. Both the President and Chief Justice Kotze had given explicit and emphatic assurances that no petitions were necessary.

† These two men, with invincible strength, adhered to their determination, and at length, having wearied out their gaolers, were unconditionally released on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee in 1897.

Kingdom, and looked upon the British South Africa Company as their open and avowed enemy. The Hollanders were by no means anxious to repress these feelings, and, on the 20th of April, 1896, the State Secretary felt it his duty to report that there was unrest among the Burghers, owing to troops being assembled and kept at Mafeking, instead of being sent to Matabeleland; and, moreover, that British officers and men were declaring their destination to be the South African Republic. The prompt reply from the High Commissioner was thoroughly satisfactory. It was untrue that troops were detained at Mafeking: on the contrary, they were pushed forward as fast as possible; and he need hardly repeat assurances, already frequently given, that Her Majesty's Government had no hostile intentions against the Transvaal Government. In spite of all this, Sir Jacobus de Wet betrayed weakness when, on the 2nd of May, 1896, he sent an urgent despatch to the High Commissioner, referring to fresh disquieting rumours, and urging the appointment of a joint Committee to satisfy the minds of unbelieving Boers. The word of Her Majesty's Government and the assurance of the High Commissioner were not sufficient. The British Agent in Pretoria seemed, chameleon-like, to take the hue of his politics from his surroundings. President Kruger and his officials appeared to imbue him with suspicion,* and make

* The power of lying in South Africa can scarcely be estimated. The State Secretary at Pretoria, with solemn assurance, notified to Lord Rosmead that affidavits by Burghers testified to the presence of six thousand troops at Aasvogelkop and Mafeking, and "several bodies everywhere along the frontier." In fact, an army was in course of being collected for the invasion of the Transvaal. The High Commissioner was compelled to rebuke President Kruger for listening seriously to such

him easily give ear to preposterous rumours. A heavy snub was the rejoinder, and subsequently the Secretary of State considered that Sir Jacobus de Wet had "earned his rest." He was consequently retired from the service on a pension. Unquestionably the Agent was thoroughly loyal and well meaning; and so convinced did he feel of his own integrity and sincerity, as to consider the action of the British Government both unjust and ungrateful.*

One result of the tremor throughout the Transvaal was that immense sums were spent in constructing forts and importing munitions of war. About a million pounds sterling was expended in one year for war purposes, and in Raad legislation the same feeling of fear and insecurity is recognizable. The policy of repressing the liberty of the Press, expelling Uitlanders, and preventing persons entering the State, whom the Government might consider "undesirable," seemed to trench very much, if it did not violate, the provisions of the London Convention. The Hollanders made remarkably good capital out of the Raid, and now took advantage of the opportunity to endeavour to throw off the hated yoke of British Suzerainty, and obtain the powerful assistance and protection of Germany.

At this peculiar crisis in South Africa, it is well to review the position from as impartial a standpoint as possible. The Imperial Government, in its Colonial headquarters in Downing Street, blundered

gross and evident absurdities. At the same time a suggestion was offered that the persons who swore to evident lies should be prosecuted for perjury.

* His pension was fixed at £300 per annum, which Sir Jacobus de Wet considered quite inadequate.

terribly from the first, so far as South African affairs are concerned. Indeed the history of South Africa, for very many years—from the time of Lord Glenelg, who gave up the province of Queen Adelaide, and opposed the policy of Sir Benjamin d'Urban, to the time of Sir Bartle Frere, who died of a broken heart—is little better than a record of mistakes. It was a mistake to seize upon the Transvaal after the collapse of President Burger's rule; and another mistake, when it was taken, not to conciliate the people by the grant of free representative institutions. It was even a worse blunder, under the unctuous veil of philanthropy, to abandon a country in which we had been defeated, and to break our solemn pledged word given to British subjects in that territory. There were disasters at Majuba Hill and Laings Nek; and now, in connection with the unfortunate Raid, the conquerors of the Matabili were seemingly easily disposed of by Dutch Farmers. What could the average Boer think of such facts of history occurring around him? It was currently stated among them that the colour of the British flag was white, as constantly exhibited asking for mercy in South Africa. God Almighty fought evidently on their side, and the perfidious conduct of the English, in the days of old, was now being repeated in their own times. "How can you trust such people?" "We have been driven out of the Cape Colony and Natal by British oppression, harried and slaughtered in the Orange Free State, and subsequently followed by rapacious injustice even to our last remote retreat in the regions between the Vaal and Limpopo Rivers. Gold has been found in large quantities within our

land, and the Mining Laws of the State are fair and equitable ; but we will never allow Uitlanders to take our power away, as thus undoubtedly we would sacrifice that independence for which our fathers bled, and which we are determined above all things to maintain." This is the keynote aptly played upon by President Kruger, Dr. Leyds, and the Hollanders.

The people of Dutch extraction in the Cape Colony were of course allied to the Boers of the Transvaal. "Blood is thicker than water " was almost a motto chosen by Mr. Hofmeyr and his Afrikaner Bond, in their efforts to raise up an Afrikaner Nation as a dominant power in Southern Africa. Their sympathies were heartily with the people of the Transvaal, and neither attempts to seriously injure their Railways, nor prohibitive tariffs directed against their products, could do much to reduce this sentimental feeling, hardly, however, reciprocated when various State situations, including high and lucrative offices,* were filled by Hollanders.

* It is said that President Kruger, in trying to excuse himself, on one occasion, for employing educated Hollanders in the Public Offices instead of Boers, remarked to a friend, that he might as well appoint a baboon as he to one of these situations. The constant *anglophobia* of Mr. Kruger rendered him a warm supporter of Dr. Leyds and a German alliance. The President is intensely the type and exponent of the ignorant, prejudiced, fighting Boer, who adds great shrewdness to the quality of being a "good hater" as well as a good shot. He is great, however, in his enthusiasm for his Boers and their independence. In a published letter to a private individual, Mr. Leyds describes Mr. Kruger as an "ignorant, narrow-minded, irascible, and pig-headed old Boer," whom, with the others (Joubert and Smit), he could twist round his fingers. The President forgave this, as Leyds was a useful man, and eventually appointed him Political Agent in Europe. The President found out that people said, "He was inclined to be lenient, but the adverse influences against him were too powerful." Paul Kruger replied, "Ja, Ja. You always say it was somebody else. First it was Jorissen who did everything, then it was Nelmapius, then it was Leyds. Well,

Let us now attend to the "Dutch Afrikander," or Bond, view of the position. Mr. Schreiner, when questioned about the Uitlander grievances by members of the House of Commons' Committee,* said that in a very young country it is a very difficult thing to quickly adapt the system to entirely changed conditions. You have, he tells us, a small pastoral State, very poorly off originally, suddenly meeting a huge influx of population; and the people of the Gold Fields, while including many elements which are most desirable, comprise many elements of an opposite description. "The Uitlanders' grievances have always had the sympathies of the Colony so long as they were genuine, but we have always felt this, that time will cure and will heal these grievances. Let me take, for instance, the franchise question. It is not to be supposed really that the children of living men are not ever to have the franchise there, however desirable as citizens they may be. We know that state of affairs is not going to last; but we feel also this—that those who most realize the grievance are not those who are most prominent in fomenting discontent. We know that the people who feel the lack of the franchise are mainly South Africans born and bred, who go to make the South African Republic their home, and who feel very keenly that when they cross a certain river they are excluded from the recognition of their political position." He would very much like exclusion from the franchise removed, and was desirous at the same time to make the fact clear that

Jorrißen is done for, Nelmapius is dead, Leyds is in Europe,—who is it now?"

* Report, p. 180, *et seq.*

the grievances were much exaggerated. He would indeed discriminate between real ones and those which might be styled the complaints of capitalists. The education difficulty is in course of being solved, but inasmuch as the child population is inconsiderable, too much stress should not be laid upon it. The bulk of the male population is adult, and does not go to school, so that more than is just is made of this grievance. Of course no one for a moment could say that it was a wise policy to grant monopolies and concessions—such as, for instance, that of dynamite. In such cases the profits are diverted into the pockets of those who “toil not, neither do they spin.” When pressed by Mr. Bigham* as to whether or not the grievances complained of at the Rand were real ones, Mr. Schreiner replied, “Which do you refer to? I should like to take them one by one.” Then, subsequently, in reply to questions, he admitted that the franchise was a serious grievance to a section of the population—mainly to people of South African birth, and to whom South Africa is a home; that the dynamite monopoly was a real and substantial grievance affecting the whole mining industry, and which must continue until the contract of concession runs out. Further, that the exclusion of Uitlanders from the jury-box, and the law against public meetings were both subjects of complaint; but the latter was really never insisted upon. Mr. Schreiner also held that, without question, the Alien Law was impolitic, because no step to deal with so very great a question as that of the exclusion of undesirable aliens should

* See “Report of British South Africa House of Commons’ Committee,” p. 201, *et seq.*

be taken by one of the States or Colonies alone. The tendency of the laws, he said, within the last six years in the Transvaal has been, in certain respects, to make the laws more indulgent to the Uitlanders ; but in some matters the contrary has been the case, to the regret of all friends of the peaceful development of South Africa. For the last ten years the alterations in the franchise have been such as to make it increasingly difficult for the Uitlanders to get a vote. A really friendly consideration of mutual difficulties, and patience, might eventually cure the grievances. Some improvement really has taken place within the last six years, so far as education and the law regarding the sale of intoxicants are concerned.

Mr. Schreiner further did not think it was true that the Transvaal Executive had frequently interfered with the action of the Judges, although he referred to one case in which this was done.* With reference to the Hollander grievance, he considered that the people of that nationality were able men who did excellent work, and that as Dutch was the official language of the country, and as an adequate supply of officials could not be obtained, from Englishmen or South Africans, their appointment was justified. Mr. Leonard oratorically exaggerates the situation, which is a natural one, because of presidential sympathy with friends, and the exigencies of a Hollander corporation which naturally employs its own people. A great many Afrikaners are actually employed in the service. We feel very much the higher appreciation of Hollanders, and the policy of

* Which caused the resignation of Mr. Justice Brand.

isolation of Dr. Leyds. The detailed patronage under him is by no means sympathetic to us. There is some grievance under this head, but not much.

So far as the Secret Service Fund was concerned, Mr. Schreiner believed that something like £100,000 per annum was spent on it. The bulk of this comes out of Uitlanders' pockets, but it depends upon what purposes and objects are served by it when we have to consider whether or not it bears a large proportion to the entire revenue of the Republic. Of course he had heard that the Press was under the control of the Government, or subsidized by it, but "there are very few things in that way, of slanders, or imputing bad motives, or bad faith to the Transvaal Government, which one has not heard said. Mr. Leonard, in his speech, does detail some real and substantial grievances, and very much exaggerates the position. Indeed, the grievances generally are fictitious, and were made a stalking horse for a purpose unconnected with them." At the same time, Mr. Schreiner admitted that a constitutional agitation had existed for some time, and was to a very great extent "a perfectly honest and sincere expression of a desire for reform, and was supported, to a very large extent, by men of small means, and men who had no personal objects to serve. In fact, it was substantially composed of an honest body of men with an honest purpose. Mr. Tudhope was the first chairman, and Mr. Wessels, one of the leading lawyers of the Transvaal, took part in it for some time."

Mr. Schreiner could not say whether Lord Loch *

* The following letter from Lord Loch, written in 1894, appears in evidence: "There is, I believe, an alien white population at present in

thought a revolution was near in 1894, but he personally never thought so. At the same time, he believed that every South African Republican has felt, and feels, that you cannot expect danger not to arise if grievances are not redressed. He did not agree with Lord Loch's opinion that, unless the grievances were removed there would be a revolution in a few years, but he, and all other public men, had nevertheless considered the situation grave. It must be admitted that men carrying on a constitutional agitation in Johannesburg had occasionally been met with jeers and insults to the regret of every one except the small number of persons who took part in that attitude. Certain members of the Raad undoubtedly used language to people asking for redress of grievances which has of course materially aggravated the situation as regards the feeling of those persons who were approaching the Parliament of that country with their humble petitions.*

In Mr. Schreiner's opinion, President Kruger broke Article 13 of the Convention of London by shutting up the Vaal River Drifts against colonial railway traffic in 1895, and would have done so previously in 1887 had he not been prevented. This witness drew

the Republic of about 40,000 persons. A few years may see this population almost doubled, and, if they suffer under the same grievances, it would be almost impossible to avert the dangers which have recently threatened."

* Mr. Chamberlain's speech of February 4, 1896, to be found at p. 84 of the Blue Book, C 7933, contains in par. 8 the following words: "Whatever may be the truth as to the occurrences of the last few weeks, the Uitlanders had previously kept within the limits of constitutional agitation, but their success in this direction was not encouraging. It is true that hopes have been held out to them by persons of high position and influence in the South African Republic, and they have at times obtained what they regarded as promises; but these have not been practically fulfilled, and when they have remonstrated they have occasionally been met with jeers and insults."

a marked distinction between a breach of treaty obligations, and dissatisfaction with treaty obligations. Treaty obligations must be observed, and should, if broken, be enforced. Nevertheless, he goes on to say, there is a big feeling of family and race relationship between the Dutch Cape Colonists and the people in the South African Republic, and of course their feeling would be that you would need to have a very clear, and very distinct, and very persistent breach of treaty obligations, probably affecting their interests and their concerns, before they would have any sympathy with a policy which might be one of enforcing, as distinct from arbitrating * upon, an alleged breach of treaty. There would be an enormous difficulty in getting Dutch Colonists to really understand this Convention or Treaty question. "I hold myself, as I † say, most strongly, the view that a Treaty must be faithfully observed, and, whatever length you have to go, if there is a resistance—a determined refusal to comply with duty—I do not stop personally. But that is not the feeling of the Dutch, and I know that I am saying something which will go to the Colony and run to my harm." ‡

Mr. Schreiner declared that, in his opinion, the Dutch wanted above all things to solve their own difficulties on the spot. You must either let salvation to the Transvaal come from the inside, or else

* Of course we know that the Secretary of State has distinctly and definitely refused to go to arbitration in any great question between Her Majesty's Government (the Suzerain or Paramount Power) and the South African Republic.

† See Mr. Schreiner's evidence, reported in full in "B. S. A. Select Committee, House of Commons," pp. 170 to 259.

‡ The Cape Colony had approached the Transvaal about tariffs, and been turned back again and again.

have a condition of things in South Africa which no man would ever wish to see or be responsible for. President Kruger was not able to act without skilled advice, which works more upon the policy of isolation than the policy of harmony and union. Absolutely he could not control the Raad in which he had not a large majority, and in which a minority of an extremely reactionary kind is included which, if it went against him, would render the Government almost impossible. If it were to join hands on any particular occasion with the actual progressives, you would find that there would be a clash.

So far as Mr. Rhodes was concerned, Mr. Schreiner, referring to the peroration of his speech in the House of Assembly, where he had said, "His aim was a high one, I wish it had been a right one," declared that he was Mr. Rhodes's friend, "if he can consider as his friend one who feels it necessary to fight him on public grounds." His confident opinion is that Rhodes absolutely disapproved of Jameson going in when he did. Mr. Charles Leonard's manifesto of the 27th of December was described by Mr. Schreiner as not an unfair document. "I would not say I agree with it entirely, but I think it put the case in a fair way without undue eloquent exaggeration at all."

When the Attorney-General asked, "Can you tell me a single effective step by legislation, or otherwise, by the Transvaal Government before the Raid, to redress any of those grievances?" Mr. Schreiner's reply was, "There was a very great deal of money expended in a municipal way at Johannesburg, that took place before the Raid, and I do not think, although the form of constitution was perhaps not a very good one,

that the Sanitary Board had much to complain of." "I am speaking of the grievances," rejoined the Attorney-General, "and any prominent redress of grievances prior to the Raid that you are able to think of at the moment." To this the reply was, "I cannot at the moment give you one." Further on, Mr. Schreiner admitted that he knew of no act of the President of the Transvaal which could be described as friendly to the Cape during the four years preceding the Raid, unless meeting at a conference in March, 1895, could be construed into one. As he said previously, the policy of isolation adopted in the internal concerns of the South African Republic has been a source of danger to South Africa at large.

The policy of Mr. Rhodes was to secure a federation of South African States, leaving to the Republics their independence, but the whole to be under the British flag so far as foreign relations were concerned. Mr. Schreiner agrees with this policy, always with a qualification. His idea of working was not to interfere with the flag and the independence of the Republics, and he saw no practically serious difficulty about coming to such an arrangement as would really confederate South Africa, and yet leave the States with their own flags. Mr. Rhodes long held the federal ideal, and President Kruger has the contrary ideal—probably of an extension of Republican principles. The latter was wounded deeply by not being able to get a little bit of the coast for a port, and probably his ideal would be an independent South African nation.

The stopping of the citizens of Johannesburg from going out to meet Jameson was, in Mr. Schreiner's

absolutely necessary to consider the nature and character of his conduct and career. We find that in 1888 he finished the amalgamation of the Diamond Mines at Kimberley, which saved a great South African industry of enormous importance from complete destruction. It was in the same year that the mineral rights of Lo Bengula's Kingdom were obtained. Eventually the most cruel system of savagery in Southern Africa was removed, and an enormous region added to the Empire and civilized South Africa, for the advantage of both. From first to last Mr. Rhodes was the principal factor in effecting this work. He risked his life frequently, expended his private fortune lavishly, and, in fact, used the best and most strenuous efforts of his life to effect one of the greatest deeds of the nineteenth century.*

Racial union, and its corollary political union, have been objects for which this statesman has used wise

itself, and is a magnet to reality in others. . . . He would make the poorest of conspirators, for to simulate what is not, or to dissimulate what is, is against the law of his nature. The same belief in reality has shown itself in his sure and steady methods of company management and finance, methods which pay attention only to actual results, look to the slow effect of those results in the future, and despise the specious unreality of the financial puff and the 'boom.' An estimate of Mr. Rhodes would be incomplete which did not note the absence of all love of money for itself."

Dr. Jameson tells us ("Personal Reminiscences," p. 402), "One of Mr. Rhodes's most prominent characteristics is his great liking for, and sympathy with, the black men, the natives of the country. He likes to be with them, he is fond of them and trusts them, and they admire and trust him. He had thousands of natives under him in the De Beer's Mines. He carefully provided for their comfort, recreation, and health. He was always looking after their interests. At the native school near Groot Schuur, he has two of Lo Bengula's sons, who have the run of the house and gardens whenever they have a holiday. They, in common with all the other natives, delight in their big, kindly, white friend."

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and energetic efforts, while his native policy specially redounds to his credit. In the Cape Parliament he truly described his Glen Grey Bill as a proposition to provide the natives with district councils; to employ their minds on simple questions in connection with local affairs; to remove the liquor pest by prohibition, and to rouse them from a life of sloth and laziness by means of the gentle stimulant of a labour tax. In Rhodesia Mr. Rhodes justly earned the title of the Great White Chief—their “Father”—by means of the generous protection he always extended to the lives and interests of the Matabele people. When all the herds between the Limpopo and the Zambesi perished by rinderpest, it was he who supplied £50,000 out of his own private purse to buy corn to feed the hungry, and prevent thousands dying of starvation.* When Captain Maguire was killed in battle

* The charges in such a novel as “Peter Halkett” are completely disproved by such a competent witness as Mr. Helm, the well-known missionary, who distinctly says, “In my own experience the Chartered Company used to get the best men they could as Native Commissioners, and I have never known within the country where I have personal experience, of any case of ill-usage or injustice to the natives by Chartered Company officials. No forcible interference by white men with native women ever came under my experience. Our expectations of a prosperous future are bound up in the continuance of government by the Chartered Company, and the Chartered Company is inseparably linked with the personality of Mr. Rhodes. The other members of the board are, from the point of view of Rhodesians, as absolutely nonentities as are the shareholders. There was but one man among them who displayed a higher sense of obligation than is involved in a commercial speculation; but one man who set himself to create a country that would be a worthy portion of the British Empire as well as a dividend-producing region; but one man who devoted himself to the prosperity of a people, as against treating men and families as persons in a stock exchange game. With him eliminated there may remain but a soulless company, capable of any Shylockian demands for prescriptive rights.” This is an extract from the *Matabele Times*, whose editor, living in Rhodesia, was perfectly conversant with the subject to which he refers; moreover, he proved that he had no bias in favour of Mr. Rhodes by joining Mr. Labouchere in denunciation of the Chartered Company.

satisfied with the steps taken by the Imperial Government since the Raid, and did not think that it would be wise or fair to take the Charter from the British South Africa Company, although he thought such steps should be taken by Great Britain as to make the recurrence of a Raid, or anything of the character of a Raid, quite impossible.

The evidence of Mr. Schreiner has been analyzed at considerable length, because in it we find what may be styled an intelligent *résumé* of the chief arguments of those who earnestly oppose Mr. Rhodes and the "Progressive Party" in South Africa. Mr. Schreiner is the Parliamentary leader put forward by Mr. Hofmeyr to oppose the Sprigg Ministry,* and is a man of great culture and high attainments, whose expressions of opinion may be taken to receive the acceptance of the better educated portion of that large section of the people of the Cape Colony and neighbouring States who are allied to, or in sympathy with, the Afrikaner Bond.

* Mr. Schreiner is now (1899) the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, supported by the Bond.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RAID AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (*continued*).

It is now desirable to furnish a brief *résumé* of the evidence of a witness on the other side. Mr. Phillips, a man of wealth and excellent reputation, a partner in a great mining firm, and a prominent member of the Reform Committee, tells us * that the price of dynamite, owing to the monopoly, was made excessive. The concession was first given in 1887 to Mr. Edward Lippert, for a period of sixteen years, and among other conditions it is stipulated that dynamite of the best quality is to be produced. In 1889 numerous complaints were made by the Chambers of Mines of quality, and want of uniformity, and of frequent partial explosions, as well as of ill health and injury resulting from bad fumes. These complaints were frequently renewed, and with good cause; but the Government would never make any investigation. A concession was granted † which was never carried out, and after many years of difficulty and attempts

* See his evidence, "Select Committee on British South Africa Report," 6379, *et seq.*

† This, of course, is said to have meant heavy bribes to officials and members of the Raad. As regards bribes and corruption, President Kruger on one occasion defended a system of taking presents of carts, "spiders," etc., by the members of the Legislature; and we have also seen that in the case of the Selati Railway Concession the names of members of the Raad and others have been published with the amount of the bribes which they took set opposite their respective names.

One of the most serious charges made against Mr. Rhodes is that of selfishness and betrayal. He did not inform the High Commissioner nor his colleagues of the plot. This course, on his part, was necessary for success, and by not confiding in any of the Ministers he saved them from penalties connected with disaster. Certainly there was no mean or contemptible motive in spending his money freely and undertaking most serious risks for a cause which he, however erroneously, believed to be that of the Empire * and of men struggling to throw off the yoke of a corrupt Government. He was wrong, but only in judgment, and Jameson † is exactly in the same position. It is preposterous to imagine that either of these men was actuated by any motives but those of assisting to obtain freedom and good government for their countrymen in the Transvaal, and thus furthering the cause of federation ‡ in South Africa, under and by

on dogma does not exist. If this had been possessed by Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, there would have been no raid.

* Mr. Rhodes was very much impressed by the fear of Germany obtaining the control of Transvaal commerce.

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Mr. Rhodes never recriminated. He blamed no one, and betrayed no confidence. He never before or after the plot tried to drag any one down with him. Of the people of Johannesburg, he said that they were not to blame, "as the affair was sprung upon them."

‡ "The Republic had become the one supreme obstacle to South African unity. The interstate politics of South Africa are, and will remain until it becomes united, largely customs politics and railway politics. Ever since the failure of Lord Carnarvon's attempt to rush federation, and especially since the failure and reversal of the Transvaal annexation, it is to a loose union of the States and Colonies, as regards their fiscal and railway systems, that most statesmen have looked forward when they have used the formula of an United South Africa. That it was possible to link together a Republic and a Colony for friendly co-operation

“We always requested the Government to take it over, and they could have taken the railway over practically before they began to pay a dividend; that is to say, when they were paying a guaranteed interest.” Mr. Phillips goes on to say that the first principle of taxation is that the amount shall not exceed the legitimate requirements of the Government, but far more money is raised in the Transvaal than is required for such purposes. In ten years the requirements of the country increased from about £200,000 to upwards of £4,000,000 per annum; and over the extravagant expenditure out of funds paid by the people those taxpayers who contributed most had no control whatever. “There was a general understanding with Mr. Rhodes that he and ourselves, and every one who had connections with the Transvaal, were tired of the existing state of affairs, and that a change must be brought about in some way; and it was then that this plan was designed, and Mr. Rhodes said he would have Dr. Jameson on the border to help us. The independence of the Republic was not to be attacked, and what was desirable were, a Customs Union, a Railway Union, and free trade in South African products. Mr. Rhodes gave a particular assurance so that those persons who had some doubt about the flag should be set straight.” *

This witness goes on to inform us that the feeling of unrest in the community of Johannesburg did grow naturally, and was in no sense manufactured. The grievances were there, and they really affected

* This testimony is of considerable importance, as, in the minds of many people, Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, with their followers, conspired to overturn the Republican form of government.

every class of the population. Constitutional redress could not possibly be obtained. "I found that, if anything, instead of redressing the grievances, there were greater burdens imposed, and between the time of Lord Loch's arrival and the revolution a petition, signed by 38,000 persons, was received very badly; and subsequently, during a debate in the Raad, one member got up and challenged the Uitlanders to fight if they wanted their rights. It became clear that nothing was procurable without a revolution, and then organization and a plan became necessary, and was adopted. It was certainly the condition that we were to give Dr. Jameson the signal. I will not go so far as to say that we were first to have risen, and then to have sent word to him. But we should have given him a day's notice, or telegraphed on the day of our rising, 'You can leave to-night or to-morrow.' It was perfectly clearly arranged with Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson that the latter was not to come in until he got an invitation.* Finally, we altogether received 2500 rifles and three Maxims; we had in ammunition about 350,000 rounds, but on the 29th of December we had then received only 1500 rifles. The balance of the rifles, the three Maxims, and the bulk of the ammunition, did not reach us until Tuesday night, the 31st of December, 1895. When the news arrived that Dr. Jameson had crossed the frontier, the Reform Committee hastily issued a notice declaring its adherence to the National Union Manifesto, and reiterating its

* True; but was not the letter dated December 28, 1895, "the invitation"? This letter, however, Mr. Phillips said, was only given to justify Dr. Jameson with his Directors—also to show his own men.

desire to maintain the independence of the Republic. It was now necessary to take active steps for the defence of Johannesburg, and the inhabitants were exhorted to refrain from taking any action which might be construed into an overt act of hostility against the Government. Applications now came in for at least 20,000 rifles. On the 31st of December two delegates from the Transvaal Government came from Pretoria to Johannesburg. They asked us whether we were determined upon revolution and bloodshed, or whether we were prepared to settle matters if the Government were ready to concede at least the substantial portion of our demands. We were invited to send a deputation who would meet a Government Commission.* This select body assembled and obtained all the information it required, including even a list of the members of the Reform Committee, and the result merely was that 'the grievances would be considered.' At the same time it was notified that the High Commissioner was coming immediately, and that no hostile step should be taken on either side."

Mr. Phillips emphatically declares that nothing was concealed from the Government Commission. "We are prepared to give guarantees that the whole and sole object of the demonstration has been to obtain equality of rights. The whole object has been to maintain the integrity of the Republic, but we felt that in view of the difficulty experienced in obtaining rights in matters of representation, we had to take

* It was composed, on the Government side, of Chief Justice Kotze, Judge Ameshoff, and Mr. Koch, member of the Executive Council; on the Reform Committee side, of Messrs. Phillips, Auret, Bailey, and Langermann.

repudiated. Every paper in the Cape Colony, except one,* denounced it; and Mr. Hofmeyr, leader of the Afrikaner party, wrote to the Press requesting to be allowed to say publicly that he took the Emperor William's "interference as mere bluster, not deserving any serious consideration, except in so far as it was calculated to create misleading impressions, or to raise false hopes in the Transvaal. Nobody knows better than His Imperial Majesty that the first German shot fired against England would be likely to be followed by a combined French and Russian attack on *das Vaterland*, and by the acquisition of England of all German Colonies, Damaraland included, which would not be an un-mixed evil for the Cape."

The head of the Afrikaner party was far too astute not to seize this golden opportunity for making a protestation of loyalty. Personally Mr. Hofmeyr had too many great qualities, and was really too sincerely devoted to his people, ever to make the mistake of even wishing to throw off allegiance to the Imperial Government: how far many of his party who heartily sympathized with the Transvaal went in an opposite direction it is impossible to say.†

The "White Book" published in 1896 clearly reveals the fact that German diplomacy had been

* *Ons Land*. This paper referred to Germany looking after her own interests, and the Transvaal policy of playing off Germany against England.

† One Dutch candidate at an election for the House of Assembly, who was returned, declared at the hustings that he was in favour of a Republic in the Cape Colony. A member in the House of Assembly contemptuously referred to British troops to be sent to the Transvaal as merely a breakfast for the brave Boers.

Mr. Schreiner's evidence is valuable. A leading man of the Cape Colony opposition, or Bond party, clearly admits that there were serious grievances. It is also shown very plainly that constitutional efforts for reform were practically exhausted, and then we know that it was the intention of the Reform Committee to retain the flag, but make just changes in the Government. On the other hand, the Boers had a right to the country, and to govern it as they pleased, so long as they did not infringe the Convention of London. There was no such desperate state of matters in existence as to prevent men earning good livings, making fortunes, and living comfortably. The verdict which will be pronounced by most impartial persons is, that extreme constitutional efforts should have been continued, and that the revolution was not justifiable.

On the second head, the finding of the Committee of the British House of Commons seems substantially just. After hearing all the evidence, bearing on all phases of the question, they find that there certainly were grievances,* and great discontent. "Whatever justification there may have been for action on the part of the people of Johannesburg," are words which seem to indicate that it is possible the population had a right to rise, and violently endeavour to throw off

* The Select Committee of the British House of Commons consisted of the Attorney-General, Mr. Bigham, Mr. Blake, Mr. Sidney Buxton, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Secretary Chamberlain, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Cripps, Sir Wm. Hart-Dyke, Mr. John Ellis, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Wharton, Mr. George Wyndham. The Select Committee of the Cape House of Assembly consisted of the Attorney-General (Sir T. Upington), Messrs. Innes, Du Toit, Merriman, Schreiner, Jones, and Fuller. There was no evidence led except for the prosecution, and the inquiry was too near the event to make impartiality possible.

the heavy and unjust yoke laid upon them. The members of the Committee go on distinctly to declare that the charge of stock jobbing and sordid motives on the part of the Reformers is entirely without foundation, but when they come to Mr. Rhodes they are compelled to say that he should have been careful to abstain from such a course of action as that which he adopted. Great stress is laid upon grave breaches of duty to those to whom he owed allegiance; and the concealment of his views from his colleagues in the Colonial Ministry, and from the Board of the British South Africa Company, is animadverted upon. The Raid, and the plans which made it possible, are absolutely and unqualifiedly condemned.

Let us listen to the extreme opposition view to Mr. Rhodes. Mr. Merriman, in his Wodehouse * electoral campaign, is reported to have said that " Mr. Rhodes may be a great man, he is certainly a wealthy man, but he is a demoralizing force in the politics of this Colony. He uses his wealth to corrupt and demoralize the people of this country. Mr. Rhodes was governed by two ideas: *first*, that every man had his price—a most damnable doctrine; and *second*, that the end justifies the means; that nothing was wrong, even fraud, deceit, treachery, violence, if the end be good. No man who professes these doctrines should have a voice in the Government of this country. Mr. Rhodes was the author of the Jameson raid. But a man might make one mistake, such as that, and be forgiven; but he looked to the fraud, the deceit, the treachery, which preceded, and also

* Mr. Merriman's speech at Barkly East (The Wodehouse Election), delivered on the 16th of July, 1898, reported in the *East London Daily Despatch*.

came after, that ludicrous fiasco. Mr. Rhodes was at that time working with the supremacy of the British Empire.”*

An impartial observer of the events of our time cannot but come to the conclusion that the wealth of Mr. Rhodes has been used in a very generous and wise manner, so far as the promotion of great industries, and many great charities and works of public value, are concerned. There is no proof of the sweeping, and indeed rather absurd charge, that he uses his wealth to corrupt and demoralize the people of the Cape Colony.

In order to arrive in a dispassionate manner at a fair conclusion with respect to Mr. Rhodes,† it is

* Ibid. Mr. Merriman is reported also to have said that “the loyalty of the Bond was indisputable. Indeed, Mr. Hofmeyr, their leader, who stood by and worked for the Empire more than any other man in South Africa, had stopped the Rev. S. J. Du Toit, when he was leading the Bond into wrong courses by such cries as ‘One Flag,’ and led it back into the straight paths of allegiance to England, on which it has since remained.”

† The following correct personal description of Mr. Rhodes is given in “Cecil Rhodes, a Biography and an Appreciation,” p. 266 :—“To know the lifework of Cecil Rhodes is to know to a great extent the man; and to glance at the map of South Africa is to measure his stature in his public life. . . . A big, heavily built, indolent-looking man, some six feet in height, carelessly dressed, is what meets the eye. If you are a physiognomist the large intellectual head, the strong chin, and firm mouth cannot fail to convey an impression of strength. The face bears now the deeply marked lines of one who has greatly dared and greatly suffered, who, undeterred by any difficulties, still sets himself to accomplish the great work he was born to do. . . . The side face has the massive strength, impervious to ordinary emotions, of some old Roman Emperor, born to command the nations, and careless of the opinion, whether praise or blame, of the world of lesser men he dominated. His talk is interesting, because one feels that it is the expression of a man of deeds, not of a spinner of language. Essentially a man of ideas, his ideas find their embodiment in action. His ambition is to do the work for which nature has fitted him—to be the instrument of British expansion, to be the builder of British Empire, the extender of British ideas and institutions, and he has no more doubt that this is his appointed work in life than he has that, however strong opposing circumstances and forces may seem to be, he will inevitably accomplish the work appointed. . . . Perhaps the basis of the unquestionable charm which Mr. Rhodes possesses for men of many minds is his sterling reality, which is frankly without conventional veneer

absolutely necessary to consider the nature and character of his conduct and career. We find that in 1888 he finished the amalgamation of the Diamond Mines at Kimberley, which saved a great South African industry of enormous importance from complete destruction. It was in the same year that the mineral rights of Lo Bengula's Kingdom were obtained. Eventually the most cruel system of savagery in Southern Africa was removed, and an enormous region added to the Empire and civilized South Africa, for the advantage of both. From first to last Mr. Rhodes was the principal factor in effecting this work. He risked his life frequently, expended his private fortune lavishly, and, in fact, used the best and most strenuous efforts of his life to effect one of the greatest deeds of the nineteenth century.*

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means of which alone did they believe that the resources of the country could ever be adequately developed. Of course it was monstrous to lead a British armed force through a friendly country, and to fight with Boers on the outskirts of Johannesburg. It must be remembered that all concerned have suffered heavily,* and been severely punished. It is not inapt also to add the following words of Dr. Jameson : " I feel quite clear in my conscience about it. I knew, whether lawfully or unlawfully, there was going to be a revolution : and when it took place it was, of course, a great factor that the High Commissioner would be there to prevent shooting going on ; that is practically what it came to. Of course, in a thing of this kind, I perfectly recognize that the

by this means was shown by the Customs Union, which has existed between the Cape and the Free State since 1889. The Natal system is dominated by the importers. It could not join. But a stronger reason is, that Natal lives on the Transvaal trade. . . . The continued preference of the Transvaal 'for splendid isolation' is at bottom due to the fact that those who govern it have never really given up the hope which is enshrined in the title of South African Republic. . . . Pretoria statesmanship has never quite given up the idea of turning the Colonies into Republics. The hope of absorbing the Free State and eventually dominating South Africa once more inspired Transvaal policy. Mr. Rhodes's policy was for years directed to redressing the balance, to neutralizing the Transvaal superiority of wealth, to keeping open the north as against Transvaal raiders, to surrounding and embracing the Republic with territory, which, like it, should contain great gold fields and great population, and should go into the British side of the balance when the hegemony of South Africa seems to waver between the two " ("The Story of an African Crisis," by Edmond Garrett and E. J. Edwards, p. 16. A valuable and interesting work, to which acknowledgments are due).

* The hardships of the Johannesburg political prisoners were very considerable, but after one of their number, Mr. Gray, committed suicide a considerable change for the better took place. The gaoler was so heavily tipped as to make his fortune, supplies of good provisions flowed in freely, relaxations were permitted, and eventually, upon payment of heavy fines, which the much-abused capitalists for the most part subscribed, the various directors, speculators, lawyers, and brokers who formed the conspirators were discharged, upon pledging themselves not in future to mix in the politics of the State.

proper thing would have been to tell the High Commissioner ; but then I would never have entertained the subject if I was going to do a proper thing. I know perfectly well that, as I have not succeeded, the natural thing has happened, but I also know that if I had succeeded I should have been forgiven. I was perfectly certain of success (to show how wrong I was in my judgment) without any High Commissioner."

It is difficult to judge the events of very recent occurrence with impartiality and knowledge.* A perspective is necessary to enable us to see accurately. When in the twentieth century a more distant view can be taken of the Raid, and the lights and shadows of the picture are toned down by time, then the thoughts and deeds of Mr. Rhodes and of Dr. Jameson, as well as of those who co-operated with them, will be judged much more generously and justly than at present. Probably then the map now "half unrolled" will be fully displayed to the eyes of the world ; and when an enterprising and progressing people are successfully working the great treasures of the new Empire,—when towns, villages, and farmhouses stretch over a fertile region added to civilization, then the episode of the Raid will probably be looked backward to as one of the few mistakes in the career and character of him who gave his best efforts, his fortune, and his genius to the creation and extension of Rhodesia.

One of the sequences of the Raid was that Germany took courage, and foolishly began to dare what she soon found she could not do. There had been a longing desire on the part of President

* Mr. Rhodes told the writer of these pages that five years ought to elapse before the history of the Raid should be written.

Kruger for a great European Power to champion his cause. Holland was too feeble, but it had been for some time thought that what could not be ventured on at the Hague might be attempted in Berlin. Indeed, President Kruger was foolish enough to refer to a policy of bartering trade advantages for political support in Germany, to which he probably could trace the subsequent fact that, by means of British power, his right of way to the littoral was blocked, and his darling desire of obtaining a seaport completely disappointed. At the end of 1895, and in the early days of 1896, the State Secretary of the Transvaal, Dr. Leyds, was in Germany. The German Consul at Pretoria was informed by the German Foreign Office that a number of marines from men-of-war would be allowed to land at Delagoa Bay "for the protection of German interests." The Government of Portugal, however, refused to permit these troops to pass through Portuguese territories; and, on the 3rd of January, 1896, the Emperor of Germany sent a telegram to President Kruger, in which he tendered his "most sincere congratulations that, without appealing to the help of friendly Powers, you and your people have been successful in opposing, with your own forces, the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace; in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without."

Here was a distinct hint to the Suzerain that the help of other Powers might be obtained; and this very impulsive declaration was greeted, at a moment of mortification and wounded national pride, as a distinct insult. Even in South Africa it was

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CONQUEST OF RHODESIA.

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This conqueror possessed enormous herds of cattle, but horses were unknown, and consequently the Induna warrior used to mount the hornless ox, which was trained for the purpose of riding. Prosperity deserted Umambo when the Amaswazi invaded his territory in search of a new country; and when he met them in battle at the foot of the Matopo Hills, the hitherto unconquered ruler fell mortally wounded, and his nation lost heart and were subdued. Then Ukuku, a younger son of Umatshobona, the father of Umzilikazi, arrived on the scene, after having shaken off the rule of Ishaka. His brother, the redoubted Umzilikazi, followed him; and then came blood, carnage, plunder, and every sort of pagan military glory. Umzilikazi caused his own brother to be murdered, together with ten of his Indunas, and ruled afterwards with a rod of iron.

The rule of this savage king, based on barbarism and cruelty, was supported by a singularly strong military organization. Every boy in the nation was eligible for the army. When able to walk on the veldt he had to undergo an apprenticeship of herding goats and sheep. This gave him a roving spirit, as well as a quick eye, and made him observant. At the age of fifteen he was liable to be drafted into a regiment. Armed with an assegai and shield, he was summoned to the royal Kraal, joined in military dances, and was imbued with the warlike

Germany against the vast interests involved in a war with the United Kingdom. It was, of course, found wanting, and consequently nothing afterwards was heard of the desirability of landing German marines at Delagoa Bay for the protection of German trade in the Transvaal, and plots for throwing off British Suzerainty were thenceforth listened to with an inattentive ear.*

The conduct of Mr. Chamberlain, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, was admirable. From the very first he declared against the Raid, did his best to prevent its occurrence, and presented throughout an attitude of wisdom, energy, and dignity, which had its due effect on Germany, the South African Republic, and the Cape Afrikaner party. He made a mistake when he proposed a scheme of modified autonomy, by means of which Johannesburg would have been allowed to govern itself. This was approved of by no party, and, of course, had not the faintest chance of success ; thus proving that, however able an Imperial Minister may be, he requires considerable guidance from men more practically experienced than himself.

The High Commissioner was the most obedient servant both of the home Government and of the Afrikaner party ; Lord Rosmead was old, timid, and deeply impressed with the great desirability of keeping on friendly terms with the very numerous people

* Both Germany and France have since found that reforms are even necessary at Johannesburg, for the purpose of doing justice to the great mining properties in which many of their people are interested. Mr. Kruger and his advisers have fallen greatly in public estimation ; indeed, some of the Continental newspapers more than hint that the President himself has been neither distinguished for speaking the truth or refusing bribes, and that his Government is both corrupt and despotic.

of Dutch extraction who had controlled the political destinies of the Cape Colony for many years. They were virtually allied to the dominant section in the Transvaal. Hence it was absolutely necessary to prevent a dangerous racial war; but to obtain that object it was surely unnecessary to show his hand on his arrival in Pretoria in such a manner as to induce the Republican Government to take a very lofty attitude, and treat the people of Johannesburg as a conquered enemy completely at their feet. As has already been said, an inquiry which ought to have been made would have resulted in the discovery by the High Commissioner of the fact that Dr. Jameson, with his officers and men, had capitulated on terms expressly securing their lives—but the fact was studiously ignored, and an opportunity given for “magnanimity.” Sir Jacobus De Wet as British Agent made unauthorized promises to the effect that the leaders of the revolution would not be prosecuted. Nevertheless, every member of the Reform Committee who could be caught was arrested, thrown into a filthy gaol, and finally severely punished. From first to last the Uitlanders seem to have no reason to thank Her Majesty’s High Commissioner. On the contrary his tone and attitude gave their rulers courage to harden their hearts against any reforms. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, undauntedly pressed for reforms. President Kruger was invited to go to England, in state, in a British man-of-war, to confer with the Secretary for the Colonies. The invitation was insultingly allowed to remain open for a long time, and of course was ultimately declined. From the first the Transvaal was informed

that no modification could be permitted in the terms of Article IV. of the London Convention, providing that Transvaal treaties with foreign States should be subject to British veto. Consequently, as this was all the Transvaal wanted, the President was not the least desirous "to discuss other matters in a friendly manner."

To show fairly the attitude of the South African Republic it is necessary to summarize what may be styled the "little Bill" of demands sent in to the Imperial Government immediately after the Raid. This contained, *First*, a demand for the supersession of the Convention of London, because "in several respects it has already virtually ceased to exist; because in other respects it has no more cause for existence; because it is injurious to the dignity of an independent Republic; because the very name and the continual arguments on the question of suzerainty, which since the conclusion of this Convention no longer exist, are used as a pretext, especially by a libellous Press, for wilfully inciting both white and coloured people against the lawful authority of the Republic, for intentionally bringing about misunderstanding, and false relations between England and the Republic, whereby in this manner the interests of both countries, and of their citizens and subjects are prejudiced, and the peaceful development of the Republic is opposed."

"No attention should be paid to false representations and lying reports spread by the Press, and otherwise, to the effect that the Government of the Republic has called in, or sought the protection of

other Powers. This had never been done, and never would be done." *

Second.—The Convention must be abolished and replaced by a treaty of amity and commerce, in which the United Kingdom would figure as one of "the most favoured Nations," and thus secure only her existing privileges.

Third.—Guarantees must be given against future raids, or indeed even police or private movements on the border.

Fourth.—Compensation for the Raid.†

Fifth.—Annexation of Swaziland to the Republic—subsequently effected.

Sixth and Seventh.—Annexation of Zimbaansland and Umbegisasland.

Eighth.—Revocation of the Charter granted by the Crown to the British South Africa Company.

There is not a word here about granting even the slightest Governmental reform, ameliorating taxation, redressing grievances, or abolishing cruel and grinding concessions. It indeed exemplifies what has been long referred to as a failing of the Dutch, "that of giving too little, and asking too much." In reply, Mr. Chamberlain was constrained to remark that the President's letter referred only to the concessions which he desired to obtain from Her Majesty's Government, and offered nothing in return except

* It must be remembered that Dr. Leyds was only at Berlin for the purpose of consulting physicians with respect to his throat. It is strange, however, that it was a member of the Executive Council of the Transvaal who first told the British Agent that the Transvaal Government was seeking the aid of foreign Powers. According to President Kruger this was a base calumny.

† Not only are all losses and damages to be made good, but a large payment made for sentimental damages. The latter claim elicited loud laughter in the House of Commons.

what they already possessed under the existing Convention. He felt sure that His Honour did not contemplate discussion on so one-sided a basis. The Secretary of State was mistaken, and did not seem to understand the character of President Kruger, who in himself perfectly embodies the *non possumus* presentment of the situation, so far as Uitlanders are concerned. He will never concede anything. He is the representative of one of those men prefigured by the Psalmist in the line, "*Sicut sagittæ in manu potentis, ita filii excussorum*"—"As arrows in the hands of the mighty, so are the children of those cast out." He is a descendant of those men who, in their own minds, fled from British injustice in the Cape Colony to British persecution in the Orange Free State and Transvaal. He represents the people who in the far recesses of South Africa were robbed of independence by Uitlanders, and only recovered it again by the help of their guns and the assistance of the Almighty. The land of gold is theirs, and it must be retained by a conservative and cautious policy. To give the franchise is to render up their independence into the hands of strangers. The Lord has manifestly fought on their side, and, while figuratively keeping their powder dry by making fortunes and taking every advantage possible, they trust always in God as their sure hope and defence. What can be done with a man like this, or with that vast majority of the voters of the Transvaal who show their implicit confidence in Paul Kruger, by again electing him, in 1898, to be President of the South African Republic?

Mr. Chamberlain was disgusted at his complete

failure to obtain any reforms, and subsequently relations were strained between Her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic to such an extent that war rumours were in the air, and a racial conflict was frequently alluded to as one of the possibilities of the day. There never, fortunately, was the least chance of anything of the sort taking place. The Transvaal territory, unlike what it was supposed to be in the days of Mr. Gladstone, comprises one of the most valuable mineral countries in the world, and therefore is worth fighting for. Knowing this, Mr. Chamberlain, as the representative of the British taxpayer, will undoubtedly take it if he get the chance. This opportunity will not be given by Mr. Kruger or his Government, as they never have shown any political suicidal tendencies. The Secretary of State always means business. He did so in the case of the Drifts, and succeeded; so also when Germany vainly vapoured and plotted. Now the garrisons of the Cape and Natal have been strengthened, and, if an adequately good opportunity be given, the South African Republic may be annexed to the United Kingdom. None of the great Powers will utter a word of dissent, and an uprising of people of Dutch extraction can be risked. Under such circumstances, President Kruger carefully "toes the line," and if by half an inch he goes beyond it, then quickly draws back his foot when he is called upon to do so, and thus effusively shows how heartily he wishes to observe carefully all the provisions of the Convention of London.

So far as the British South Africa Company is concerned, nothing can be more clear than that Mr.

ordered to report upon the subject of compulsory labour, cattle regulations, and an alleged monopoly or concession to purchase maize. His Report, dated the 16th of January, 1897, is to the effect that compulsory labour did exist,* that a fatal mistake was made by pursuing the plan of claiming all the cattle as belonging to the King, and that a privilege was granted in one case which gave settlers a genuine grievance against the British South Africa Company. In reply, the Directors in St. Swithin's Lane "were absolutely astounded,"† and could not credit the statements made. Certainly no authority whatever had been given by the Company for such a practice, and its existence had been wholly without the consent or knowledge of the Board. Dr. Jameson is quoted to say that, during his tenure of office as Administrator, he never sanctioned forced labour, and that if in fact anything approaching this had been allowed by any Magistrate or Native Commissioner, it was entirely without instructions. An earnest desire is expressed that Sir Richard Martin should be called upon to

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The rule of this savage king, based on barbarism and cruelty, was supported by a singularly strong military organization. Every boy in the nation was eligible for the army. When able to walk on the veldt he had to undergo an apprenticeship of herding goats and sheep. This gave him a roving spirit, as well as a quick eye, and made him observant. At the age of fifteen he was liable to be drafted into a regiment. Armed with an assegai and shield, he was summoned to the royal Kraal, joined in military dances, and was imbued with the warlike

spirit of the nation by taking part in their great martial songs.*

No fewer than twenty-eight regiments were formed by Umzilikazi, and young bloods eager to fight were always anxious to be led on the war-path. Half of the cattle and of the slaves went to the captors, and the other half to the King. In time of war, which was, at first, the normal condition of the country, every man among the enemy, as well as all old women, were ruthlessly murdered; while young women and girls were seized, and subsequently sold for wives at a price of one cow for each. Might was right, and an experienced missionary adds,† “Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the Chartered Company, whatever may have been the blunders perpetrated by the Company in its treatment of the natives, it will always deserve unbounded praise for having brought this iniquitous and infamous system of warfare to an end. It is the traditional system of warfare of savages, practised in the distant past all over South Africa, and it prevails to this day in all parts of the African continent where Christianity and civilization are not in the ascendency.”

Lo Bengula inherited the prestige, traditions, and sanguinary policy of his father Umzilikazi. Inferior tribes who had been raided and conquered mingled their blood with those of their conquerors. The lads

* One of them was—

“Akulunkulu; eyabekwe amangwe,
Minani! Mazulu limlondoloze
Ungan’ indhlovu, eyakoka amkeswa”—

“O great, great one! thou who hast been appointed king by the nations,
Look to this! Zulus, protect him.

“Thou art mighty as an elephant, a king who has baffled the scorn of (his enemies).”

† Father Prestage, S.J., in the *Zambesi Bulletin*, p. 7.

taken in battle grew up to be Matabili, and the young women became the wives of their captors,—consequently the Nation greatly degenerated.* A military despotism prevailed, under which the King was master of everything and everybody. By means of his military power, and of a cruel system of witchcraft, no life was safe, and even Nini, the King's own sister, was slaughtered. Lo Bengula was, above all things, the chief magician of his people, and considered an expert in the occult and contemptible rites of spiritualism and superstition, by means of which the soldiers were held in awe, enemies removed, and a spirit of terrorism infused into the people. The great monarch was nothing more than an unscrupulous murderer, whose policy was that of lying and outwitting, while at the same time obtaining for himself every possible advantage. Under his *régime* Christianity and civilization were quite impossible. It was death to become a Christian, and death to thwart the slightest whim of the cruel monster in whose hands were not only the destinies of the people of Matabeleland, but the lives and liberties of the

* The Zulu race became, by degrees, intermingled with Mashonas, Makalakas, Bechuanas, and others. The earliest blood admixture with the races of Southern Africa with which we are acquainted was that which took place on the advent of the builders of the Zimbabwe, and first gold miners, at a time certainly not later than 1000 B.C. The theory of Mr. Selous is, no doubt, correct, that these men took wives among the people of the country. "On my theory," he says, "the blood of the ancient worshippers of Baal still runs in their veins, very much diluted, of course, but still in sufficient strength to occasionally produce among them men with light brown skins and high features, and sometimes of great intellectual power. . . . The worship of Baal died out, and was superseded by the old religion of ancestor worship, which still prevails; but it appears to me that the wall building and gold mining, originally learnt from the ancient Arabians, were carried on continuously, from their first inception up to the middle of the present century. It is the Zulu invasions of the present century, depopulating large areas of country, that finally forced the Mashonas to cease working."

Mashonas and other subject people. A time now came when this infamous system was to end, and one of the greatest barriers to South African progress and civilization to be removed.

The extension of virtual sovereignty over Bechuanaland was a sequence of the successful expedition under Sir Charles Warren in 1885. Khama became our ally, and was always the deadly foe of Lo Bengula. Both the Boers and the Portuguese were now alive to the importance of obtaining the country between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, while Germany also showed a disposition to acquire a share.

Mr. Rhodes was fortunately always imbued with the absolute necessity of pushing British power northwards, and, in pursuance of his plans, induced the High Commissioner, in 1888, to conclude a treaty with Lo Bengula, under which that potentate promised not to enter into any agreement without the sanction of the Imperial Government. We have seen that in the same year a concession of mineral rights was granted to C. D. Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, and F. R. Thompson. This was followed by the Royal Charter in 1889.

The Portuguese were extremely jealous, and, laying claim to all the country, naturally looked upon the British South Africa Company as an organized band of robbers. They were now roused to exertion, and determined, at all events, to save a portion of the gold country of Mashonaland for His most faithful Majesty. Colonel Paiva d'Andrada was ordered in 1889 to show that certain portions of these regions were not only claimed, but occupied. Raids were made, and considerable activity displayed. At this time

Gungunhana or Umdumgwasna, on the death of his father, immediately murdered his elder brother, Mafamane, and seized the reins of authority. An old claimant to the chieftainship named Mawarwa was played off against him by the Portuguese, but Gungunhana had the sense to express a wish to come under the protection of the British Government, and eventually, principally through the intervention of Dr. Jameson and Mr. Dennis Doyle,* a concession was obtained from him in favour of the British South Africa Company. The Portuguese were weak, and had to give way. Indeed this could not be otherwise, as their claims were almost in inverse proportion to their means of defending them. In 1887, as a result of negotiations with Germany and France, official maps were issued by Portugal, in which were claimed the entire region between Angola and Mozambique specially including the whole basin of the Zambesi, as well as Matabeleland, and the districts of Lake Nyassa up to the Rovuma River. The British Foreign Minister lost no time in entering a protest against all claims not founded on occupation. Subsequently, as we have seen, special rights were obtained by the British South Africa Company, under special agreements; and, eventually, after protracted negotiations, an Anglo-Portuguese convention was agreed to in 1891, under which the dominion of Portugal in East Africa was defined, and the free navigation of the Zambesi secured.

In the first instance the British South Africa Company established a camp at Buluwayo, left a

* Mr. Doyle went to England with a special deputation of two Indunas sent by Gungunhana to the British Government.

permanent representative there, and duly made the first payments to the King. But after eight months had elapsed it was seen that the time had come for the entrance of a pioneer column, and the occupation of Mashonaland. Mr. Selous was chosen as guide, and soon learned from Lo Bengula that he had granted no permission for entry by a north-eastern route, and insisted upon the force coming through Buluwayo accompanied by Mr. Rhodes.* The British South Africa Company scarcely cared to fall into this trap.

The pioneer column was recruited at Kimberley, and concentrated at Macloutsie, a fortified post of the Northern Bechuanaland Protectorate, held by Major Grey with five troops of Police and Maxim guns. The column itself, consisting of the flower of the adventurous youth of South Africa, in whose ranks there is always abundant fighting material, comprised three mounted companies of pioneers, and three troops of British South Africa Police. Major Johnson commanded, and under him were Captains Heany, Hoste, and Borrow, leading respectively A., B., and C. companies. The combined bodies of Police and pioneers were under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather.

At the end of June the force was inspected by General Methuen, and the time had now come for the departure of one of the most important expeditions mentioned in history, whose object was that of unlocking the treasures of a great auriferous country.

* Mr. Rhodes incurred the undying enmity of Paul Kruger by being beforehand in acquiring rights in a territory which the Transvaal burgher looked upon as his Goshen or promised land. Messengers from the President of the South African Republic, desirous of making a bargain with Lo Bengula, were just too late, as they arrived at Buluwayo after the concession had been granted to the British South Africa Company.

The march of the ten thousand, made ever memorable in the pages of Xenophon, was of small importance to the world compared to the march of the undaunted five hundred who now went forth to link another Empire to civilization.

Lo Bengula, dreading the consequences of the march, declared that there would be trouble if the white Impi crossed the Tuli River; and the message had such an effect upon the natives attached to the force, that a large number deserted, and but for the exertions of Khama, not a coloured boy would have gone on. This chief sent a contingent of two hundred men, under the command of his favourite brother, Radi-Kladi, and it eventually rendered most valuable assistance. Five scouting parties were sent out by Mr. Selous, who was guide to the expedition.* These "followed one another in rotation, day by day, each party riding first twenty miles or so along a back track, and then circling round the advancing expedition at a distance of from ten to twenty miles towards the Matabele border. Each party slept out three nights, and on the fourth picked up the expedition again. No Matabele army attacked us, but it is my firm belief that, had it done so, one or other of my parties of circling scouts would have crossed the track, and brought in news of their approach when they were still some miles distant, and thus given time for everything to be got ready to resist an attack."

Now was the time to cut roads and push forward through the bush with as little delay as possible.

* See his narrative in "Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa," p. 370.

Lo Bengula's messengers could not reach the expedition before the lapse of ten days, it would certainly take some little time to muster an army, and, no matter how quickly the army came, it was calculated that twenty-five days must elapse before it could make an attack. It was indeed a case of *carpe diem*, and the time was taken full advantage of. A road was cut, and the force with its train of waggons, two miles long, proceeded through the thickly wooded low country.* The men were filled with enthusiasm, and on the 9th of July they reached the river Umzingwan. After this they had to chop through seventeen miles of dense forest; and then, on the morning of the 13th, came upon a great herd of elephants, but were not allowed to fire a shot.

Scouting parties were always out, and whilst one half of the men walked, and cleared a road through the bush with their axes, they were closely attended by their mounted comrades, who led their friends' horses, ready saddled and bridled, and carried their arms. Every night the advance party surrounded their camp with a strong "zeriba" of thorn trees, and the pickets mounted guard outside.† On the 18th of July the entire column reached the Umshabetsi, and from that point two parallel roads were cut. At last the Lunti River was reached on August 1st, and

* Mr. Selous says (p. 372), "Dr. Jameson accompanied us (the advance party), though I think he ought to have remained behind with the main expedition, but he is a man of so generous a nature that, because he thought there was more danger with the small advance party of forty men than with the main column, he must needs come on ahead with us. Here's your health, and good luck to you, Doctor!"

† "One night a hyena made the most unearthly noise round the camp I have ever heard. I have never forgotten it, and this hideous serenade almost made me think that an African Banshee was wailing and crying around us. My superstitious fears, however, proved to be without foundation" (Selous, "Travel and Adventure in Africa," p. 373).

then four days' time was given to find out the best route, and to give a needful rest to the expedition.

Mr. Selous gazing from a height, like another Moses, over a promised land, saw only broken and difficult country intersected by forests and streams. Fortunately he entered a valley which he had seen from the top of the Zamamba, just where it narrowed in between the shadow of Injaguzi, and eventually stood upon the summit of a small rocky hill, which rose above the broken ridges by which it was surrounded. Then indeed a glorious vision presented itself to his eyes. He now knew the country and his way to their destination. There were no difficulties to be encountered, and success was certain. "Providential Pass" was the name aptly given to the easy ascent which proved to them a gate to victory.

Victoria was established, and while approaching this place an ultimatum came from Lo Bengula, ordering Colonel Pennefather to turn back at once, "unless he was strong enough to go on," but at the same time warning him that, if he did advance, he must expect trouble. When the King received the reply to this message he saw at once that the opportunity of himself and of his nation had passed by. The expedition had now reached the open plateau of Mashonaland, and any force that he might send against five hundred well-armed Europeans, assisted by artillery, must infallibly be defeated.

A delay at Tuli would have been exceedingly dangerous, and, if it had occurred, a large Matabele army might have attacked the expedition. "Had such an attack been made in the bush country, the expedition to Mashonaland, even if it had not been

overwhelmed and annihilated, would probably have been so crippled by loss of cattle that it would not have been able to proceed." *

On the 1st of September the expedition reached the place where Fort Charter was established, at the source of the Umgezi. They were now within fifty miles of Mount Hampden, and on the 11th of September, 1890, the Union Jack was hoisted at Fort Salisbury, on the banks of the Makubesi River. Thus terminated one of the expeditions which must be considered great because of the daring manner in which it was conducted, and because of the important results which followed its wonderful success. A few hundred British pioneers had, with their lives in their hands, passed over the territory of the greatest savage potentate of Southern Africa, in spite of his protests and warnings. They had hoisted their flag in the midst of a country at once the oldest and the newest in the world—a land downtrodden for generations, but yet probably the ancient country of Ophir, whence gold was obtained, more than one thousand years before Christ, for the service of God in the temple of the Lord of Hosts, built by King Solomon at Jerusalem.† It was certainly the great magnet gold which brought the expedition to Salisbury, and it was now evidently intended to exploit the mineral treasures of the land, and to exemplify the truth of

* "Travel and Adventure in Africa," p. 380. "We cut the road to Mashonaland in defiance of them (the Matabili), and our advance would most certainly have been resisted but for two circumstances. The first was, that five hundred men of the Bechuanaland Police were encamped on the south-west border of Bechuanaland; and the second, that, until the expedition crossed the Tuli, Lo Bengula never knew where we were" (p. 381).

† See Bent's "Ruined Cities of Mashonaland;" also "Monomatapa (Rhodesia)," by A. Wilmot.

the saying that there is "nothing new under the sun," by converting the oldest mines of the world into the most modern "diggings."

Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, the first Administrator of the British South Africa Company, concluded a treaty, in September, 1890, with Umtasa, the chief of Manica, by means of which a very large portion of auriferous territory was obtained. The Portuguese of course objected, but it is difficult to treat as serious the claims of a power which has never been able to do anything with the country. The fable of the dog in the manger was thoroughly realized, but it was preposterous to imagine that the entire utilization and civilization of South-Eastern Africa should be abandoned because of the claims of Portugal.

Captain Heyman with fifty men of the Police were sent into the annexed country, beat off an attack made on his position by the Portuguese, and afterwards captured the fort of Massikessi.* There were rumours of the advance of a force of six hundred men, but fortunately an arrangement was made at this time by means of which, under the direction of a joint commission, the respective boundaries of the territories of the British South Africa and Mozambique Companies were definitively settled.

At a later period, Baron De Rezende, the managing

* Mr. Selous thus describes this country: "This part is without exception the most mountainous and broken, and withal the most beautiful, that I have yet seen in Africa. It is simply a mass of rugged hills rising to a height of over six thousand feet above sea-level, among which there are many fine open valleys, watered by rushing streams of the clearest water, all of which are fed by the innumerable little burns that, rising amongst the summits of the mountains, have cut deep fissures for themselves down every hillside. Many of the ravines thus formed are clothed with clusters of banana trees. Lemons of excellent flavour also grow wild in those ravines" ("Travel and Adventure in Africa," p. 385).

director of the Mozambique Company in Manica, received the ambassadors of the British South Africa Company in the most frigid manner possible, and it was soon evident that hostilities were imminent. On the 25th of October, Colonel Paiva d'Andrada, accompanied by a Goanese adventurer styled Gouweia, approached Massikessi with a large force of armed natives. A small party of ten B.S.A. Police was then directed to proceed into the country, and Captain Forbes assumed command.

A letter was sent to Colonel D'Andrada calling upon him not to invade the territory of a chief with whom a friendly treaty had just been made, but no reply was vouchsafed to this message. We are told by Mr. Selous, who is thoroughly acquainted with every detail, that Gouweia, with seventy men all fully armed, arrived at Umtasa's Kraal on the 8th of November. At this time Captain Forbes had only ten men at his disposal, but he was not afraid to tell Gouweia that if he did not leave the country he would be put out. During a period of seven days Gouweia frequently interviewed the chief, and terrorized him so as to induce him to make new statements. Captain Forbes in the mean time could not venture upon active operations with only ten men at his disposal, but sent off for reinforcements, and was fortunately able to obtain the assistance of twenty men under Lieutenant Fiennes, while Mr. Dennis Doyle, Captain Hoste, and Lieutenant Biscoe also appeared on the scene.

Colonel D'Andrada, Baron De Rezende, and all their followers, were inside Umtasa's stockaded Kraal, and orders were given to blockade it against any

Englishmen. However, there was a back entrance through which suddenly entered Captain Forbes and Lieutenant Fiennes with ten men, who promptly arrested Colonel D'Andrada, the Baron De Rezende, and Gouweia, "the Capitao Mor of Gorongoza," while at the same time they disarmed the Portuguese retainers. Mr. Doyle, who was proficient in native languages, went about warning Umtasa's people not to take any part in the proceedings. This certainly was a wonderful coup. Gouweia's men were so entirely taken by surprise as to offer no resistance. Many of them delivered up their arms, and the rest fled. Colonel D'Andrada and Gouweia were immediately sent off under escort to Fort Salisbury for trial. Captain Forbes pushed on at once to Massikessi, taking Baron De Rezende with him; and then the place was formally taken possession of by the forces of the British South Africa Company.*

A treaty was now made with the Chief Motoko, and it seems desirable to advert to the circumstances connected with this proceeding as indicative of what is done, and understood, on such occasions. Mr. Selous was the ambassador, and had to make his way with Mr. Armstrong and a Zulu servant along a lane left for them amongst a dense mass of natives. There were one thousand men present, all fully armed, and the aged chief Motoko sat underneath an arbour

* Mr. Selous says, "One cannot but feel sorry for the chagrin and mortification which recent events must have caused to two Portuguese gentlemen, of whose courtesy and kindness all Englishmen who have ever met them speak with one accord in the highest terms. I refer to Colonel Paiva d'Andrada and Baron De Rezende, men imbued with the spirit of the old Portuguese navigators, a spirit which now only flickers up occasionally in the breasts of their descendants, like flame among the embers of a dying fire. The sun of Portugal's glory has set, never to rise again in Eastern Africa."

of boughs on the highest part of a great granite slab. Two marumba players stood behind, and when the ambassador had seated himself a man rushed forward and shouted a few words in praise of Motoko, while a crowd of women in the background broke into a shrill cry intended to mean a welcome to strangers. When it was fully explained that it was absolutely necessary he should grant a concession, the old chief made intelligent comments, and spoke of the fear he entertained of being attacked by the Portuguese. He had heard of everything done at Manica, and clearly realized that the star of the British South Africa Company was in the ascendant. "Englishmen could go where they liked to look for gold." Mr. Selous then said, " ' If the words you have spoken come from your heart, I will write your name and my own on the paper which has been translated to you, and you must make a cross behind your name.' He then placed his hand on mine while I wrote his name, and made the ' ×,' as his hand was too old and shaky to actually hold the pen. Siteo and Kalimozondo then made crosses, as witnesses for Motoko, whilst Mr. Armstrong and William Hokogazi did the same on behalf of the Company, and the treaty between Motoko and the British South Africa Company was concluded." *

* "Motoko's country is of great extent, and comprises all the territory west of Mangevendis and Umsewasbas that lies between the Ruenga and Mazoe Rivers, and the gold fields visited by Mauch, and called by him the Kaiser Wilhelm Gold Fields, are within his dominions. The whole of his country in the neighbourhood of the lower Mazoe and the Ruenga, none of which has ever been visited by a white man, will also probably prove to be auriferous. A large portion of Motoko's country lies at an altitude of about from four thousand feet above sea-level, and seems very fertile. In no part of the country have I seen as fine rice as is here grown, of very large grain and beautifully white. Really they are a fine race. I feel sure that Motoko could muster at least five thousand fighting men" ("Travels and Adventures in East Africa," pp. 403, 404).

Although a *modus vivendi* was in existence between the British South Africa Company and the Portuguese which did not terminate before the 15th of May, the Portuguese made a sortie on the 11th of that month, and attacked Captain Heyman at Chua, near Massikessi. One hundred Portuguese tried to lead a large number of black levies from Angola, but without avail, and the absurd sight was beheld of the native levies retreating, in spite of all their officers could do, without even making an attempt to attack. Massikessi had, therefore, to be abandoned, and was taken possession of by the British South Africa Company.

A fixed Government was firmly established in that great region extending between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers, comprising countries styled Mashonaland and Matabeleland, but all collectively known as Rhodesia.* It had been very plainly seen from the first that, for an inland country such as this, communication by rail with the sea coast was an absolute necessity. Beira, on the Pungwe river, was the natural port of Mashonaland, but it was situated in Portuguese territory, and subject, during summer, to most malignant malarial fever. The parts about Bulawayo might with advantage be reached by lines from the Cape Colony, stretching through Bechuanaland, and with this object in view a railway first from Kimberley to Vryburg, and thence to Mafeking, was

* The first officials were Administrator A. R. Colquhoun (succeeded by Dr. Jameson); Secretary to Administrator, V. Harrison. Officer commanding forces, Colonel Pennefather; Staff officer, Major Sir John Willoughby, Bart.; O. C. Salisbury, Major Forbes; O. C. Manica, Captain Heyman; O. C. Victoria, Captain Falconer; O. C. Tuli, Captain Turner; Surveyor General Duncan; Public Prosecutor, A. E. Caldecott; Master of Court, J. H. Kennedy; Registrar of Deeds, H. M. Hole.

constructed. Eventually we will find this extended to Buluwayo.* The new Government of the British South Africa Company was engaged in making laws based chiefly upon those in the Cape Colony, arranging agreements with Native Chiefs, and fighting Portugal.

It is not easy to estimate the extraordinary difficulties with which the British South Africa Company was forced to contend. They had not only savage enemies within and beyond their own territory, but enemies in their own household,† and among the Dutch Boers of the Transvaal. At one time a large trek was organized among the burghers of the South African Republic under Colonel Ferreira, in order ostensibly to take advantage of alleged land concessions said to have been made by Matipi, a petty chief in Banjailand. The High Commissioner, having been expostulated with, induced President Kruger to give orders that the Boers were not to go in except under the British South Africa Company. Previously a force was hastily collected under Colonel Goold Adams to stop the progress of the five hundred trekkers, which they succeeded in doing after Colonel Ferreira had been arrested by the Police and induced to sign documents of a satisfactory character.

So far as extension northward is concerned the British South Africa Company from the first pushed forward across the Zambesi, effected treaties with Barotse chiefs, and were not content until Nyassaland‡ and a field of operation in the Lake Country

* Now (1899) to be extended to Tanganyika.

† The onslaughts on them made in England were frequently supported by false and distorted statements.

‡ The B. S. A. Company expended £10,000 per annum upon this

were secured under Mr. Johnstone as Administrator.

We have seen that the great Pioneer march to Mount Hampden was a brilliant success, and it was now hoped that, under a solemn treaty with the successor of Umzilikaze, the arts of peace might flourish, mining enterprise be so permitted as to induce a large civilized population, by degrees, to enter the country, and that white men and Zulus would live together in peace and amity. As well imagine that the lion could lie down with the lamb, or that the reign of the Millennium had arrived! The last and greatest difficulties of the British South Africa Company were yet to be surmounted and conquered.

As on a draught board, so on the stage of South African history, the blacks and whites are always drawn up in opposition to each other. No lesson has been more clearly taught than that savages must be thoroughly subdued before a state of society can be attained in which peace, with progress, will be possible. Avarice and duplicity are leading characteristics of Zulu and Kafir potentates. Lo Bengula took all he could get for a concession of minerals, but from the first determined to make such gifts illusory. He was checkmated by the Pioneer expedition; but afterwards, when he saw that the European force in the country was comparatively small, thought that an opportunity for their destruction was at hand. A

Nyassa territory. Gunboats were placed on the Shirè river and Lake Nyassa, while suitable forts were built and coffee planting greatly stimulated. No association has ever done so much to destroy the slave trade, ameliorate the condition of the natives and open up the country to civilization as the Chartered Company, yet this company and Mr. Rhodes have been the constant objects of vituperation by the little Englanders at home, and the Kruger Boer party in South Africa.

tentative raid upon the Mashonas was made in 1892, which was not resisted by the Chartered Company. In April, 1893, the telegraph wire was cut at Gomalla's Kraal, but matters did not reach a climax until the month of July, when Lo Bengula sent a large and picked body of men with instructions to slaughter those Mashonas who worked for white men. When these instructions were being carried out at Victoria, and white men dared to intervene to save the lives of their boys, they were sternly told to "Stand on one side; your time has not come yet." Dr. Jameson hurried down from Salisbury, held an Indaba, and told the Indunas that if they "did not clear before the sun was low in the heavens, I will send out my men, and those of you who have not left I shall drive over the border." A majority of the enemy left, but a party more than three hundred in number defied the authorities, and proceeded to raid a small kraal. Captain Lendy was sent out with a patrol, a collision took place, and the raiders were defeated and dispersed. A war was thus forced upon the Colonists of Mashonaland, and the Chartered Company, although unprepared, had no option but to continue hostilities.

The Administrator now clearly saw that no half-measures were possible, and that it was absolutely necessary to break the power of the Matabili, or to evacuate the country. On the 19th of July, 1893, Dr. Jameson said to Major Forbes, "You have to go to Buluwayo." His plan was that seven hundred and fifty mounted men should be collected from Salisbury, Victoria, and Tuli, and with only three or four days' food on the horses, and a hundred rounds of ammunition per man, make a rapid march upon the head-quarters of the Zulu

King. This was a most daring scheme, particularly when we consider that one of the greatest authorities on South African native warfare had three years previously stated that he would require seven thousand men to take the country.* Twelve waggons, Maxim guns on galloping carriages, and other quick-firing pieces of artillery, were added to the small force. Every man who volunteered would receive protection on all claims in Mashonaland until six months after the war was finished, a farm of six thousand acres, twenty gold claims, and a share in all cattle captured.†

Dr. Jameson reviewed the portion of the force which left Charter on the 2nd of October, 1893, and in a few days Matabeleland was entered. A junction was soon effected with the Victoria Column,‡ while,

* This Jameson raid, which turned out so extremely successful, was the precursor and model of the other "Jameson Raid," which ended in total discomfiture beside the gold mines of Johannesburg. The easy success of the one may have caused undue confidence.

† The Officers were as follows: Personal Staff—Mr. C. M. Acutt, Interpreter and guide; Mr. P. L. Chappe, Veterinary Surgeon and Trumpeter; Mr. J. H. Kennedy, Quartermaster; Mr. T. E. Tanner, Orderly Officer and Galloper.

A. Troop.—Captain Heany; Bodle and Lockner, Lieutenants. Biscoe in charge of Maxim.

B. Troop.—Captain Borrow, Lieutenants Snodgrass and Reed. Llewellyn with Maxim attached.

C. Troop.—Captain Spreckley, with Messrs. Laing and Christison as Lieutenants.

Artillery and D. Troop.—Captain Moberley, with Mr. Tennant in charge of a seven-pounder gun as Lieutenant.

Remount Officers.—Captain Finch and Mr. J. Carden.

Ordinance Store Officer.—Captain A. L. Campbell, late R.A.

Medical Officers.—Dr. H. Edgelow and Dr. J. Stewart. Mr. J. W. Nesbitt commanded a force of sixty, consisting of Colonial Natives and Coolies, and there was also a scouting section for special duty.

‡ Staff: Major Wilson, Adjutant Kennelly, A.D.C.; Lieutenants Bower and Chalk. Pioneers: Lieutenants Brown and Ware, and Quartermaster Captain Greenfield. Captains Fitzgerald, Bastard, Napier, and Judd commanded the four troops respectively. Infantry: Captain Delamere. Artillery: Captains Lendy and Reed. A number of officers acted as scouts, while Lieutenant Brabant commanded the Native contingent, and Captain Donovan the Volunteer unattached force.

with the utmost prudence, the united force continued steadily to advance through the enemy's country. Cattle were occasionally seized, parties of Matabili seen in the distance, and sometimes a skirmish occurred, in one of which Captain Campbell was killed. Above all things, the system of fortified camp was attended to. Major Forbes tells us that "it could be formed when on the march in from two to three minutes, and when bushed was very strong. It provided room for all the men and horses inside; the oxen were all picketed in front of the right, left, and rear faces. Each driver was provided with two three-foot steel posts, and immediately his waggon was driven into its place he unhooked the whole span of oxen and took them clear of the waggons, and as soon as the side was complete, fastened both ends of his *trek touw* down, and then tied the oxen up to it. The oxen, when crowded close into the waggon, took up very little room and formed a most efficient obstacle. If time allowed, a thick thorn bush fence was always put outside them, and all the waggons not covered by oxen were protected by thorn bush pulled under them. It was found that in bush country the whole laager could be completed, and bushed up in about ten to fifteen minutes." *

On went the columns, marching where possible about 300 yards apart, each with a double row

* If Lord Chelmsford had used such precautions in accordance with the advice of Paul Kruger, there would have been no Isandhlwana slaughter. In writing this portion of our narrative, obligations must be stated to "The Downfall of Lo-Bengula—the Cause, History, and Effect of the Matabele war," by W. A. Wills and L. T. Collengridge, with contributions by Major P. W. Forbes, Major Sir John Willoughby, Bart., Mr. H. Rider Haggard, Mr. F. C. Selous, F.Z.S., and Mr. P. B. S. Wrey, A.M. Institute C. E.

of waggons. Mashonas* endeavouring to bring their presents of grain were slaughtered by their cruel enemies—the Matabili. Fine open ridges, long grassy slopes, bushy country, were passed through, but except the capture of cattle, there were no adventures. At last, shortly after the Shangani river was crossed, and about the hour of four in the morning, every man in the camp was suddenly awakened by the sound of quick firing, and realized that the enemy had begun an attack. It was so dark, that nothing could be seen but the flashes from the guns. The men on picket all came in safe, and after half an hour's assault the enemy retired. Some time afterwards between two hundred and three hundred natives were noticed collecting on the top of a small rise, from which they descended without any hurry or attempt to take cover. When they arrived at the bottom of the slope they quietly sat down and began to shoot. Such a heavy fire was immediately poured on them from two or three Maxims and about two hundred rifles that they were compelled to retire in great haste. These were the men of the Insukameni, one of the best regiments of the King. Small parties were then sent out into the bush, but after some skirmishing they had to retire on the laager to which the enemy came, and were driven back by means of the Maxims' fire.

Shortly afterwards very well directed shells dispersed a mass of Matabele warriors, while a Hotchkiss gun went on firing at small parties crossing the

* Nine hundred Mashonas joined the force and were most useful in bushing the laagers, making kraals for the cattle, and driving captured cattle.

open, 1500 to 2000 yards to the south and south-west of the laager. After a fierce skirmish in the bush the natives fell back behind a bushy *kopje*, but found their position shelled, and were forced to retire, and then the Colonial boys under Captain Nesbitt drove the stragglers off the hills. A wounded native stated that the attacking force consisted of the Insukameni, Ihlati, Amaveni, and Siseba regiments, as well as the men from various kraals, in all not less than five thousand. They had been waiting in the Somabula Forest, but unaccountably permitted the British force to pass, and then followed up quickly. They arrived shortly after dark on the previous evening, but were prevented from attacking by the sight of signal rockets, which absolutely terrified them. The attack was therefore postponed until daybreak, and then it was arranged that they should all creep up under the cover of darkness and simultaneously rush in with their short stabbing assegais. In this action only one man, Trooper Walters of the Victoria Column, was shot. This was a very important engagement, as it proved that the much-vaunted Matabili were too much praised and feared.

A scouting party was cut off by a considerable force, but managed to gallop through the enemy, running the gauntlet of a heavy fire. Captain Williams's horse bolted, and carried him into the ranks of the enemy, where he was killed. Immediately afterwards one of the flanking parties was attacked, but reinforcements having been sent up, the Matabili were quickly routed. The only casualty occurred when a fierce savage leaped on Trooper Lucas from the bush, and tore him off his horse. Trooper

Halferty rushed forward, and, in trying to rescue his comrade, not only shot the assailant, but wounded Lucas in the leg and arm.

When near Buluwayo the scouts reported that they had actually ridden into a large force of Matabili, estimated to be four thousand strong, but had been able to gallop out without loss. A seven-pounder, sighted up to 4000 yards, was shortly afterwards used against a mass of the enemy. The first shot fell short, and the Matabili fired their rifles at it; but the next two shells fell in the midst of them, and were followed by others which did so much execution as to cause a postponement of the enemy's attack. However, a great concerted movement was made at the Imbembesi River. A number of natives, several of whom were mounted, were seen to come out of the thickets, and the seven-pounder was at once used to shell them. Immediately afterwards the entire edge of the bush was alive with savages, and a fierce attack commenced. It was evidently the object of the Matabili to surround the British, but a large portion of their force was stopped or driven back by shells, and well-directed fire, from one of the Maxims. The horses were stampeded; but a small party, headed by Sir John Willoughby and Captain Borrow, galloped after them, and succeeded in turning them under a heavy fire, and within one hundred yards of the enemy. On came Lo Bengula's warriors in immense numbers, keeping up a very hot fire, which was ineffective in consequence of being too high. A "Maxim," a "Gardiner," and a "Nordenfelt" gun, with a hundred rifles, kept up a constant reply. The main attack was on the right, and Major Forbes tells us that, "although the

Major Forbes had now the difficult and dangerous task to perform of extricating a small detachment from the midst of an overwhelming force of the enemy. "I wrote a letter," he says, "to Dr. Jameson, telling him what had happened, and that we were going to retire up the river; that we were all right for ammunition to stand another big fight, but, if we had this fight, I should have to laager, and wait for more ammunition, as our supply would not warrant me in risking a third in the open. I asked him to send off reinforcements at once, with food and ammunition, and also wrote to Captain Dellamore, at Umhlangeni, telling him to push on with his men to the Shangani, by the main road, and then follow the west bank down till we met."

It seems almost incredible that this letter to the Administrator was not despatched, in consequence of the representations of Captains Raaf and Francis. More than one officer wrote at the same time to Buluwayo, saying "Good-bye" to every one, as they believed that their little force would be destroyed. On, however, they went, amid torrents of rain, heavy roads, and dense bush, from which at any moment volleys of bullets might deal destruction. In one place a hot fire was opened when the pickets were off their guard, and they had a narrow escape. In another they came upon a friendly tribe belonging to Mhlangabesa, a brother of Lo Bengula, whom the King had some years before killed, because he was very like him, and might therefore at any time personate Majesty. Soon the gun horses got tired out, the until Mr. Dawson found their bones. It was said by the natives that previous to death the famous thirty-four had chanted a death-hymn together.

and the style of marching to it was that of Dunsinane Wood advancing against Macbeth. As the country was bare of trees, each native was made to carry a thorn bush aloft, "and the sight of the whole column marching like this was very imposing." They passed deserted kraals, fired a few shells into the bush so as to drive out straggling natives, and at last, when crossing the Kou River, heard a great explosion, and soon saw a large column of smoke rising above the place which was once the chief residence of the last great Monarch of the Matabili. Captain Borrow, with an advance guard of twenty men, was sent on to occupy the place,* "and thus, exactly a month after leaving Charter, the main town of Matabeleland was occupied by the British South Africa Company, and the nation was scattered over the country."

* "Bulawayo itself consisted of a large ring, about 100 yards wide, of Kraals, enclosing an open space of about 700 yards in diameter; and in the centre of this were the King's own buildings; they consisted of two large brick houses, one being the King's living house, and the other the waggon house; a large group of huts belonging to the Queens, and a cattle and goat kraal. All these were entirely destroyed. The explosion had consisted of 80,000 rounds of ammunition; and he had given orders to the men remaining there, that, if the nation was beaten at Imbembesi they were to set fire to the kraal and follow him, carrying the ammunition and powder, but so great was the panic that they could not wait to pick it up, but set fire to the kraal and left. The news of the breaking of the Matabele power, and the occupation of Bulawayo, was published in the English papers of November 10th" ("Major Forbes' Narrative," pp. 128, 129).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONQUEST OF RHODESIA (*continued*).

WE must now follow the fortunes of the Southern Column sent under Colonel Goold Adams, which caused an important diversion of Lo Bengula's army, as he sent out no fewer than eight thousand men, from twenty-three towns, under Gambo, to intercept it. The fighting only consisted in repelling a half-hearted attack made by a force of six or seven hundred Matabili. That the contest was not more serious is attributed to the fact that Gambo and his men were disconcerted and discouraged when they heard of the defeat of the other half of Lo Bengula's army on the Shangani and Imbembesi Rivers. An unfortunate occurrence took place at Tati, when three Indunas, on a mission from the King, and accompanied by Mr. Dawson, were unfortunately killed in consequence of a mistake. The Interpreter to the Forces, in ignorance of the character of these men, reported that they meditated escape. Their arrest was then ordered. One of the Indunas, becoming alarmed, snatched a bayonet from a trooper, stabbed two of his guards, and was then shot, while the other was killed while also violently attempting to escape.

According to the report of Colonel Goold Adams, he

started from Macloutsie with a mounted force of two hundred and twenty-five officers and men, with four Maxim guns, two seven-pounder guns, fourteen waggons, and fifty native drivers. He was joined, shortly afterwards, by Commandant Raaf, with two hundred and twenty-five men, mostly mounted, one Maxim gun, and eleven waggons. Having occupied the Tati settlement, he pushed on to Shashi, and there met the Chief Khama, with a hundred and thirty mounted men, and between seventeen and eighteen hundred infantry, about half of whom were armed with Martini-Henry rifles. The route was to the Monarch Mine, thence to Ramakobane River, up that river to its source, across to the upper waters of the Mitangwe River, and along the high veld to the eastward, striking the main road about Fig Tree. This plan was found partially impracticable, and leaving Khama and his men in laager at the Ramakabane, three hundred and ninety men with artillery pushed quickly forward. These duly arrived at the Singuesi River, and then the plan was adopted of getting Khama to join, and endeavour to provoke an attack from the Matabili, who had been carefully gathering together and carrying off cattle. A detached force under Captain Tancred, when about a mile and a half from laager, was attacked from the rear by a force of six hundred savages. Immediately the sound of firing was heard, mounted men hurried from the laager, and among the first of these was Mr. Selous, who was wounded in trying to stop the onward rush of the Matabili. The rearmost of the waggons was captured by the enemy, who assegaied Corporal Mundy and a native driver, but all the others were safely conveyed into camp, and it was only when

the Maxim guns opened fire at a range of 150 yards that the Matabili retired. Orders were then given to storm the hills, and this was successfully done, with the result that sixty natives were killed, and a large number were forced to seek refuge in the Motopos.

Colonel Goold Adams reports that on the 5th of November the Chief Khama informed him that small-pox had broken out among his people, and he would return. Remonstrances were in vain, and this Chief retraced his steps at once, accompanied by his followers, and would not even lend a few waggons and oxen. News of the defeat of Lo Bengula was almost immediately afterwards received, and, accompanied by a large portion of his force, Colonel Goold Adams proceeded to Buluwayo, which he reached on the 15th of November. And now a letter was sent to the King by Dr. Jameson, written in English, Dutch, and Zulu, telling him that his great place was taken, and his nation defeated, but that, in order to prevent further bloodshed, his own personal safety would be guaranteed in case of surrender.

The last of the most powerful and bloodthirsty rulers of African savagery was now a refugee, hiding in thick forest at the junction of the Imbembesi and Inquequesi Rivers, about fifty miles from Buluwayo. He was still defended by the remnants of his army, and the young men of three Matabele regiments wished the white men to go into the bush in order that they might destroy them.

Lo Bengula, in reply, caused a letter to be written to Dr. Jameson, stating that he would come in, but inquiring where he was to live, as all his houses were burned. This was soon perceived to be

a mere pretext. The "fine art" of lying is the only fine art specially cultivated by the Zulus and Kafir nations, and it is one in which they have so much practice as to result in their attaining considerable dexterity and skill.

It was now necessary to finish the war by capturing the King, and, as a preliminary, it was desirable to capture Umhlangeni, distant forty miles from Buluwayo, where the natives who sheltered their great chief were principally congregated. Three hundred men, with two Maxims and a seven-pounder, were told off for this purpose, and the principal officers in command were Major Wilson, Captains Coventry, Raaf, Heany, Streckley, and Lendy. Only three days' food was taken, and each man carried a hundred rounds of ammunition. They travelled through very dense bush, carefully laagering at night, and soon reached the Imbembesi River at a wide sandy drift, then dry. A slight *détour* was made, the Inquequesi crossed, and the entire force formed up on the north side to wait until it was light enough to attack.

It was arranged, we are told, that Major Wilson, with a hundred and forty-five men and two Maxims, should proceed to the right of the position, where the natives were said to be, and that Captain Raaf, with his force to the left, and Captain Heany, with forty-five men and the seven-pounder, should advance along the road where it was open. Messrs. Acutt and Colenbrander guided the two columns. However, it was soon ascertained, that there was no Impi to attack; a few scattered natives were killed, and a thousand head of cattle captured. The King had gone to the Buby River, the sources of which were about ten miles to

the north of Umhlangeni, and it was reported that he had four waggons pulled along by men, and that there were very few people with him. After dark two hundred men, with Major Forbes at their head, pushed on quickly, with two Maxims in front, and one at the rear of the column ; but difficulties arose about food supplies, and it was declared that the capture of the King was too dangerous a mission to be entrusted to a handful of men without reserve ammunition. The consequence was that this party turned back.*

An advance was now made to Shiloh, and the heavy rain-storms of summer commenced. A column of three hundred men was organized, and, accompanied by Maxims and Hotchkiss guns, as well as rations for twelve days, set out in pursuit of Lo Bengula. This force, under Major Forbes, followed the King's waggon spoor through thick bush, and, as the country was wet and heavy, only managed to march eight miles per day. At last they came to the Shangani River, and the recent footprints of the King. It was now seen that the enemy had been underrated, and that the small band of pursuers might at any time be attacked by a force of between two and three thousand men ; but they trusted in their Maxims, and believed that, by this means, the foe could be successfully resisted. Marching most carefully, and always ready to take up a strong fortified position in a few minutes, they came upon a camp which the King in his waggon had only left on the previous afternoon. Major Wilson was then ordered to take

* It turned out at this time that the King was only three miles away, and was very sick and almost deserted. According to the narrative, some of the officers did not agree very well among themselves. Major Forbes and Captain Raaf certainly did not get on well together.

his twelve best-mounted men, and push along the spoor, as fast as possible, returning to camp by dark. Several officers, including Captains Kerton and Greenfield, obtained leave to accompany this small party. There was now eager excitement to gain the great *kudos* which would attach to the capture of Lo Bengula. Major Forbes himself informs us that he only waited for Wilson's return to take fifty picked men, with a galloping Maxim, "and make one rush for the King."

In place of Wilson's returning when it was dark, he evidently determined to take advantage of what he must have looked upon as a good opportunity, and sent several men back, including Captain Napier, to report his position, and to state his wish that the whole force should attack the King at daylight. In reply, Major Forbes declared that it was impossible for him to move that night, as he was surrounded, and expected to be attacked at any moment. In his opinion any attempt to move before it was light would bring the Impi upon them at once. "The column, owing to the Maxims, could not travel without making a considerable amount of noise, and it would be very dangerous to attempt to cross the river through deep sand, and in the dark, when it was impossible to say what force might be waiting for them on the other bank, where the bush was very thick."

The river was then low, but it rose the following morning, in consequence of heavy rains having fallen on the Gwailo, eighty miles distant. Major Forbes was confronted with the alternative of either recalling Major Wilson at once, or supporting him with as many men as possible. He says, "I did not wish to recall

him, as I had absolute confidence in his judgment, and he had decided to wait there ; he knew as well as I did how important it was that the King should be caught, and he knew, which I did not, the exact state of affairs about the King. If I recalled him I undid all that we had been striving for so long, and we should have to start all over again, or give up the pursuit. . . . Major Wilson did not consider that his party was in any danger when Captain Napier left, or he would have brought them back to camp." Having determined not to recall him, the next thing to decide was how many men he could spare. "Captain Borrow had twenty men all well mounted, and their horses had done less work than the others, so I decided on sending them ; before giving him any orders, I went over to Captain Raaf, told him all that had happened, and what I proposed to do, and he concurred."

In the morning early the main body under Major Forbes advanced, and were soon subjected to a heavy fire from the bush, to which their Maxim guns successfully replied. It was necessary to retire and take up a better position, and as they were engaged in doing this, up galloped Burnham, Ingram, and Gooding. The first named jumped off his horse and said, "I think I may say we are the sole survivors of that party." And in this way was the terrible news conveyed that Major Wilson and the gallant men with him had been killed. "Say nothing about it until we are out of our own fight," said Major Forbes ; and soon after a halt was called—the wounded were attended to, rifle-pits dug, and every possible means adopted for taking up a strong fortified position.

The men who had just barely escaped with their lives reported that Major Wilson and his officers determined on making a rush for the King's scherm, and trying to secure him. They came up to two waggons, called aloud, and were at once answered by a heavy fire from a hundred men. Dismounting, they returned the fire, fell back to a large ant-heap which gave some cover, and, eventually, after two of their horses were killed, galloped away. Wilson asked Burnham if he thought he could get through to Major Forbes, and upon his replying in the affirmative, Gooding was told off to go with him. They had scarcely started when large numbers of Matabili ran towards them, shouting, and waving their assegais. By hard riding and good luck, they escaped amidst a shower of bullets, and succeeded in reaching the river and swimming across. Immediately after leaving they knew, from the heavy firing, that the beginning of the end had arrived, so far as their comrades were concerned, and that they would be the only survivors of the party. Major Wilson and the thirty-three gallant men who fought with him made a stand which will be ever memorable in the history of South Africa. Indeed as long as throughout the world the memory of heroic deeds are cherished, the calm steady heroism of this small band will be remembered. They knew that they were surrounded, outnumbered, and fated to die, nevertheless with calm courage they continued to fire while a cartridge remained, and when they died, under the wounds of hosts of enemies, their bravery and calm fortitude won even the admiration of a savage foe.*

* Hope was for some time entertained that some of these had escaped

Major Forbes had now the difficult and dangerous task to perform of extricating a small detachment from the midst of an overwhelming force of the enemy. "I wrote a letter," he says, "to Dr. Jameson, telling him what had happened, and that we were going to retire up the river; that we were all right for ammunition to stand another big fight, but, if we had this fight, I should have to laager, and wait for more ammunition, as our supply would not warrant me in risking a third in the open. I asked him to send off reinforcements at once, with food and ammunition, and also wrote to Captain Dellamore, at Umhlangeni, telling him to push on with his men to the Shangani, by the main road, and then follow the west bank down till we met."

It seems almost incredible that this letter to the Administrator was not despatched, in consequence of the representations of Captains Raaf and Francis. More than one officer wrote at the same time to Buluwayo, saying "Good-bye" to every one, as they believed that their little force would be destroyed. On, however, they went, amid torrents of rain, heavy roads, and dense bush, from which at any moment volleys of bullets might deal destruction. In one place a hot fire was opened when the pickets were off their guard, and they had a narrow escape. In another they came upon a friendly tribe belonging to Mhlangabesa, a brother of Lo Bengula, whom the King had some years before killed, because he was very like him, and might therefore at any time personate Majesty. Soon the gun horses got tired out, the until Mr. Dawson found their bones. It was said by the natives that previous to death the famous thirty-four had chanted a death-hymn together.

oxen strayed away in the bush, and, on one occasion, a large force of natives came crawling up to them, sheltered by long grass and numerous boulders. "Several of the men felt very anxious, and those who could understand what the natives were saying kept on remarking, 'Look out now, they are going to surround us,' and 'They are going to keep us here till dark, and then surround us.' However, they did not make either of these attempts, and went away after an immense amount of desultory firing." *

The gun carriages had to be abandoned—six men carried each gun wrapped in blankets ; and now, constant anxiety, watchfulness, and privations so told upon the little band that "the worst of the halts was that the men went to sleep immediately they lay on the ground, and there was always a chance of one being left behind when they moved on.† For two days they were out of meat, and only the most careful had any bread or coffee ; boots were worn out, and several men walked in wallets, and then there was a frequent fire from the enemy, who now principally aimed at the Maxim guns, which they regarded as their greatest destroyers. Xenophon's retreating ten

* Certainly one of the causes of disaster in this little campaign was the want of discipline. Each officer seemed to think he was in command. Major Forbes had issued orders for further movements, when, to his surprise, he heard Captain Francis and Mr. Farley shouting "Order," and then saw Captain Raaf standing on a rock where he addressed everybody. "He began by saying we were in a tight fix, and had to get out of it as best we could, and then went on to say what had been arranged. I said in a chaffing way to Captain Napier that the little man looked as if he had taken charge, but did not stop him, as, although he was wrong in doing it, I only thought it was done in ignorance of etiquette, and that he meant it for the best. We did not know whether the natives were all round us or not, but hoped to get through them in the dark," p. 181.

† One of the Victoria men, named Sheldrake, was missing in this manner.

thousand could not possibly have been more joyous when they saw "the sea," than the small force of Major Forbes when it beheld Selous and Acutt advancing, with the intelligence that a relief column, accompanied by Rhodes and Jameson, was close at hand.*

The relief column consisted of about a hundred and fifty men under Captain Heany, and with it were not only Messrs. Rhodes and Jameson, but also Sir J. Willoughby and Major Sawyer, the last of whom had been sent up by the High Commissioner to inquire into and report upon the military operations of the British South Africa Company. The war was now finished, levies disbanded, and a new Police force organized. At the same time the country was thrown open for prospecting and farm occupation. Before the men left a parade was held, at which the commanding officer delivered an address, and all the arms, ammunition, equipments, etc., were taken into store at Buluwayo, and just sufficient issued to enable each person to pass through the country armed. Nearly all the chiefs of any consequence surrendered, prospecting for gold claims went on briskly, and it was thought that Matabeleland was permanently conquered, and that no further disturbances of any consequence would take place.

The Government of the British South Africa Company now endeavoured to cultivate the arts of peace. Laws, based upon those in the Cape Colony, were adopted, and a simple, but efficient, system of rule organized. It became apparent that in this far

* We are told that the column was received with open arms, and lots of cookies and coffee.

inland position railways to the sea were absolutely essential. The heavy machinery for gold-mining operations could not be otherwise profitably procured, and, as the basis of prosperity was mineral exploitation, cheap reliable transport facilities became absolutely necessary. The country was seen to be really good both for agricultural and pastoral farming. It is true that there were low-lying districts in which fever frequently prevailed, but on the comparatively healthy plateaux and higher regions there was a great future for the white man.

It soon became evident that the Matabili were not thoroughly subdued, even when the Kraals of Buluwayo were burned, and Lo Bengula died a wretched and conquered refugee. The natives were only partially beaten, and the memories of their defeats in 1893 rankled in their minds. They clearly perceived that white men had not been indulging in any mere raid, and that the wave of conquest which extended over their country was permanent, and not intended to flow back. Then the Matabili were constantly tormented by the fact that they could no longer sally forth and levy contributions upon the lands, herds, and families of their weaker neighbours, the Mashonas. Even trifling thefts of cattle were now punished, and the quiet putting away of a good-for-nothing slave or a disagreeable stepmother was actually treated as a crime! Policemen were lords over the people, and caused so much discontent as to make it appear probable that their insolence and exactions would create a rebellion.* Added to all causes of regret and

* Colonel Baden-Powell, however, says, "Much has been said against them as having been the cause of the revolt through their overbearing

of complaint, of dissatisfaction and of hope, were the powerful exertions of the three high priests and four warrior chiefs of the *M'limo*. It must be remembered that, like other savage tribes of Southern Africa, the Matabili are slaves to superstition. They had not only married Mashona women, but adopted the Mashona religion. The *M'limo* was the invisible God, in whose worship they engaged, and he possessed a priest in the country beyond Invati, one in the Motopo Hills, and a third near Mangwe, all of whom acted as oracles, consulted by the people with blind credulity, and invariably obeyed. Their opportunity came in 1895-6, when they thought the fighting men had left the country on the occasion of the Raid.

The Matabele tribes were called upon to arm themselves, assemble round Buluwayo, rush the town in the night, and murder its inhabitants. Then smaller Impis were to be formed to go over the entire country, murdering the whites and seizing their property. To encourage the efforts of the natives their oracles informed them that the white man's bullets would be turned into water, and their cannon-shells into eggs. The insurrection commenced on the 24th of March, 1896, when outlying settlers and prospectors were attacked. Seven white men with their coloured servants were butchered among the Insiza Hills, a miner was killed at the Nellie Reef, while, a few miles further on, the gross barbarity of the savages was displayed by their cruelly hacking to death a family consisting of a grandfather, the mother, two grown-up

conduct. I am perfectly convinced that the rebellion would have occurred just the same had there been no such body as the Native Police in existence." ("The Matabele Campaign," p. 35.)

girls, a boy, and three little fair-haired children. A poor young bride was driven out of her new home, and stoned to death. Women and children were slaughtered, in various places, in the most brutal manner. Mr. Selous tells us that he was inclined to judge the natives very leniently, but his sentiments were changed when he heard of the cruel and treacherous murders of defenceless women and children.*

Now was the time for the white man to prove that he belonged to a dominant race. Filled with rage at the vile atrocities committed by the savages, a wave of indignation extended over the country, and, borne along on it, numerous expeditions proceeded to subdue the rebels. Captain Selous, with forty men, made a reconnaissance for a distance of thirty miles south of Buluwayo. Captain Macfarlane with a few men was able to relieve a party of white people closely pressed by the enemy. Colonel Napier brought forty white settlers into safety from the Shungani. Gifford, with a hundred and forty men under his command, was hotly attacked, and lost his arm on this occasion; while of his men four were

* "No allegations of cruelty, injustice, and oppression of the natives, by the Chartered Company, were made prior to the rebellion, and should any now be brought forward they ought to be received with the very gravest suspicion. The fact, too, remains that, although individual acts of cruelty have occurred in Matabeleland—as they have done in every other country of the world—during the last two years; and although mistakes have been made, especially in dealing with the cattle and labour questions, yet, on the whole, the conditions under which the natives in that territory lived were such that no one resident in the country, whether missionary or miner, imagined before the rebellion broke out that there could be any deep-seated discontent among them. . . . As in the Cape Colony, so will it be in Matabeleland, the savages will discover the uselessness of rebellion against the white man. . . . Not until mutual confidence has been restored between whites and blacks can Rhodesia prosper." (F. C. Selous, "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia," p. 16.)

killed and seven wounded. Captain Lumsden fell, and Macfarlane with sixty men relieved him.* Fortunately the miners of the Gwanda district escaped ; but the patrol under Brand and Niekerk, which went out to relieve them, was attacked, and very nearly cut off in passing through the eastern end of the Motopos. Five of their number were killed and fifteen wounded.

Colonel Baden-Powell tells us, " When the enemy closed on Buluwayo as if to swamp it, Bissett led the garrison out on a sortie on 22nd April. There was a stubborn fight, in which neither side gained any ultimate decided advantage, but it was remarkable for the fact that perhaps in no fight in history have there been so many deeds of gallantry performed among so small a body of men. No less than three men have since been recommended for the Victoria Cross, for separate acts of heroism in this fight. Three days later, Captain ' Mickey ' Macfarlane—an old friend of ours in the 9th Lancers—again led out the Buluwayo field force, and this time dealt the enemy a very heavy blow, such as changed the aspect of affairs, and relieved Buluwayo from any immediate danger of being rushed."†

Relief forces were organized at once. One at Salisbury in Mashonaland, and others at Kimberley and Mafeking. In the last week of May these forces arrived at Buluwayo, and in their ranks were both Mr. Rhodes and Lord Grey. The country could now be scoured advantageously, the period of horrid

* All the details of this war are taken from the excellent and reliable work on the subject, "The Matabele Campaign in 1896," by Colonel R.S.S. Baden-Powell, 13th Hussars.

† "The Matabele Campaign," p. 38.

suspense was over, and the cold-blooded massacres of women and children by savages were happily at an end.*

The Matabele Relief Force, under Plumer, of eight hundred men, recruited in the Cape Colony, now came up, and, in the words of Colonel Baden-Powell, "hammered at the various Impis threatening Buluwayo on the north and east with complete success." Then came the General's plan, which was to send out three strong columns to the north-east, north, and north-west, for the purpose of clearing the country of rebels, and of planting forts. Eventually the most difficult and dangerous natural fortifications of the enemy, amidst the detached rocks and big boulders of the Motopo Hills, was to be tackled by all the combined force which could be used for the purpose. A fight of some consequence took place at the Umgusa River, within a few miles of Buluwayo, when two hundred and fifty mounted men, with artillery, attacked twelve hundred of the enemy, whose tactics consisted in firing from good positions in a long belt of thick bush.

* Mr. Selous, in his "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia," supplies damning evidence of the infamous cruelty and savagery of the Matabili. Filled with just indignation, he says (p. 36), "But we are thankful for the sympathy of that most determined enemy of everything Rhodesian, except the noble savages who therein dwell, Mr. Labouchere, who has professed himself 'sorry for the women and children who have been killed.' 'Sorry,' only 'sorry.' Wonderful, indeed, is the calm serenity of soul that enables that noble nature to view all mundane affairs from the same cold, passionless plane, whether it be the cruel murder of an English settler's wife and family in Rhodesia, or an accident to the wheel of a friend's bicycle in Hyde Park. But the men who have looked upon the corpses of the murdered ones, who have seen the shattered skulls of their countrywomen, the long grey locks of the aged, and the sunny curls of the girls and little children, all alike dabbled in their blood, are something more than sorry; indignation mingles with their sorrow, and they are determined to exact such punishment for the crimes committed as shall preclude, as far as possible, their recurrence in the future" ("Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia," pp. 36, 37).

They were told by their god, the M'limo, that they had only to approach Buluwayo, and draw out the garrison, when the Umgusa River would open up and swallow all the white soldiers. Their duty then would be simply to walk into the town, and cut up the women and children at their leisure. The officer in command determined to make a cavalry fight of it ; so, at the words "Forward—Gallop," a charge was made, answered by an irregular volley. The Matabili immediately fled, dodging among the bushes, and loading as they ran. Now and again they tried to rally, but when they heard the whoop and yell of the cavalry, accompanied by a charge, they never stood their ground. In one case a white man got detached, and suddenly came on eight natives, but he used magazine fire with such effect that they could not close upon him with their clubs and assegais, and, as soon as he had killed four of them, the others fled. The savages were quickly scattered, and four of the white men badly wounded. The defeat of this Impi was of importance, as it was composed of picked men from all the principal regiments of the rebel forces, and a great number of the chiefs were present. No fewer than two hundred and fifteen were killed, of whom fifteen were headmen. One wounded Matabeli was found who had hanged himself after the fight. They gave no quarter and expected none.

The news of numerous murders of white people in Mashonaland now arrived—the forces at Buluwayo were on short rations, and the rainy season was close at hand. It was evident that the only chance of holding the country was to plant outlying posts adequately provisioned, and, in the mean time,

thoroughly "smash up the enemy." The men were capital ; indeed the reverse of Byron's description of Greece, when he says, "All but the spirit of man was divine," can be applied, with truth, to the Rhodesia of this time. The country was difficult, provisions scarce, and the means of locomotion miserable.* It seemed almost impossible to get sufficient waggons in the Cape Colony to bring up the necessaries of life. A determination was arrived at to thoroughly subdue the enemy, without waiting for additional assistance of any description. At the same time an application was forwarded to the Imperial authorities for a thousand troops, to be sent out without delay. The position was rendered more critical by the apprehension that the natives in the south-west would rise.

* A very illustrative and amusing account of a patrolling expedition is quoted by Colonel Baden-Powell from *The Matabele Times*, where we are told, "Our little party, with noses that needed constant attention with a handkerchief, and numbed fingers clasping cold rifles, stood shivering outside the stable gates, viewing life despondingly. We followed a depressed official to where four alleged horses, with drooping heads and downcast mien, disconsolately champd the half ton of rusty iron which South Africans call a bit, and dreamed of oats. Each man chose a horse, and with the assistance of sundry stable boys, induced him to leave his empty manger, and move wearily out into the street. Here great care was necessary in mounting, as it was yet to be ascertained whether the crocks could stand up straight under the weight of a rider ; but, at last, we fell in, and, by dint of spur and rein, reached the laáger. My horse edged sideways towards the windmill ; he wanted something to lean against. 'You are not to gallop all the way,' said the Corporal. We at once said we wouldn't, and just then one of the horses fell down in endeavouring to step over a gutter. We dismounted, and put the turn-out on its feet, and proceeded. All went well for a mile or so, and the Corporal says, 'Let's have a trot.' We rammed in the spurs, and shook the reins ; one horse started a feeble lolloping trot, which he maintained for at least twenty yards, before he fell down ; two horses shook their heads, and whisked their tails, but took no notice of the appeal for more speed ; and the fourth, a grey with fine prominent points, stopped dead short. We all passed a few remarks about the gentleman who had selected the horses for duty, and resumed our wonted crawl march. More rinderpest—and my horse made a movement as if to lean against the smell, but it was too strong for him, and he moved on, to prevent being knocked over" (*The Matabele Campaign*, pp. 47, 48).

As it was known that if a certain priest of the M'limo, living at the western end of the Motopos, should direct the people to rebel disastrous consequences would result, Armstrong, the District Native Commissioner, volunteered to go alone, and capture or shoot him. He accordingly rode over to this wizard's cave, stated that he would give a handsome reward to be made invulnerable against Matabele bullets, and, as the priest was proceeding with his dance and incantations, shot him dead. This was done with impunity, as Armstrong with his companion did not find the road blocked, and were able to gallop back in safety.

As northward of Buluwayo the rebels had been dispersed at every place but Inyati, a column nearly eight hundred strong was taken out there by Colonel Plumer. He succeeded in surprising the enemy at a Kopje stronghold, where there were numerous caves,* killed a hundred and fifty men, and took six hundred prisoners, eight hundred head of cattle, and a large quantity of goods which had been looted from stores. At this time, under orders from the Imperial Government a proclamation was issued, offering terms to the rebels if they would surrender, and many of them no doubt would have done so if their leaders had consented. But their chiefs possessed enormous influence,

* Colonel Baden-Powell visited the M'limo's cave, which he says was a most curious place—a sort of ante-room, in which suppliants had to wait while the Priest went away to invoke the M'limo's attention; then a narrow cleft, by which they could walk deep into the rock, and which narrowed till it looked like a split just before the end of the cave. In reality, another cave entered the hill from the opposite side, and led up to the same crevice; and it was by this back entrance that the Priest re-entered, and, sitting in the dark corner just behind the crevice, he was able to personate an invisible deity with full effect. Of such caves there are three or four about the country, where the rebels get orders as to their course of action ("The Matabele Campaign," p. 126).

superstition administered by M'limo priests urged the continuance of war, and the brutal murders committed caused them to fear that their crimes were too great for pardon. Writing of this period, Colonel Baden-Powell tells us that, "it is only, even now, internal jealousies among the rebel chiefs that save the whites from being blotted out. The attempt to make Nyamanda King, if ever seriously intended, fell through abortively ; each of the great chiefs desires that honour for himself, and thus the different Impis do not amalgamate to crush us ; but they let our puny force go round and punch them all in turn, in such a way as breaks them daily smaller."

Inyanda's stronghold consisted of a lofty mountain, on which were great pinnacles of rock with boulders, caves, and narrow kloofs. The front of this was shelled, and then, when the rebels retreated to their caves, these natural fortresses were captured, and large quantities of grain discovered.* One of the sharpest actions took place in April near this place, when Brand's patrol was attacked by an overwhelming force, and, by means of their Maxim gun and indomitable pluck, made their way to Buluwayo with the loss of five men out of a hundred and fifty.†

* "We found many cooking-pots, shields, assegais, clothes, and even children's dolls: these latter were merely little clay models of bodies with short arms and legs, but no heads; and these are said to be of precisely the same pattern as the dolls of the ancients which have been excavated in some of the old ruins of the country" ("The Matabele Campaign," p. 186).

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As it was known that if a certain priest of the M'limo, living at the western end of the Motopos, should direct the people to rebel disastrous consequences would result, Armstrong, the District Native Commissioner, volunteered to go alone, and capture or shoot him. He accordingly rode over to this wizard's cave, stated that he would give a handsome reward to be made invulnerable against Matabele bullets, and, as the priest was proceeding with his dance and incantations, shot him dead. This was done with impunity, as Armstrong with his companion did not find the road blocked, and were able to gallop back in safety.

As northward of Buluwayo the rebels had been dispersed at every place but Inyati, a column nearly eight hundred strong was taken out there by Colonel Plumer. He succeeded in surprising the enemy at a Kopje stronghold, where there were numerous caves,* killed a hundred and fifty men, and took six hundred prisoners, eight hundred head of cattle, and a large quantity of goods which had been looted from stores. At this time, under orders from the Imperial Government a proclamation was issued, offering terms to the rebels if they would surrender, and many of them no doubt would have done so if their leaders had consented. But their chiefs possessed enormous influence,

* Colonel Baden-Powell visited the M'limo's cave, which he says was a most curious place—a sort of ante-room, in which suppliants had to wait while the Priest went away to invoke the M'limo's attention; then a narrow cleft, by which they could walk deep into the rock, and which narrowed till it looked like a split just before the end of the cave. In reality, another cave entered the hill from the opposite side, and led up to the same crevice; and it was by this back entrance that the Priest re-entered, and, sitting in the dark corner just behind the crevice, he was able to personate an invisible deity with full effect. Of such caves there are three or four about the country, where the rebels get orders as to their course of action ("The Matabele Campaign," p. 126).

superstition administered by M'limo priests urged the continuance of war, and the brutal murders committed caused them to fear that their crimes were too great for pardon. Writing of this period, Colonel Baden-Powell tells us that, "it is only, even now, internal jealousies among the rebel chiefs that save the whites from being blotted out. The attempt to make Nyamanda King, if ever seriously intended, fell through abortively; each of the great chiefs desires that honour for himself, and thus the different Impis do not amalgamate to crush us; but they let our puny force go round and punch them all in turn, in such a way as breaks them daily smaller."

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cattle taken. Numerous fortified posts were established, and the safety of the supply route to Salisbury secured. By means of strong columns the rebels were broken up, and forced out of their kopjes. For this purpose a force was used of 2200 men with 580 horses.

The strongholds of the natives are described as kopjes, undermined with caves and narrow passages, in which a few men can easily defy a large number.

Colonel Baden-Powell tells us that Sir Frederick Carington's management of his extended force, operating in a country as large as Spain, France, and Italy, was like a man playing a small piano to a large room full of people. The room was over 600 miles in length, but the transport and supply, which can be looked upon as the doorway, was too small to admit a larger instrument. The piano notes, he says, are eight small field columns, seven laagered towns, and twenty-four fortified posts. He plays them by telegraph from his music-stool at Buluwayo, and has to make them reach every column of the room. He burns to be out himself with one or other of the columns, but it cannot be; he has to sit here to read the music, and to play the notes accordingly, and to be at the end of the wire for communication with the High Commissioner.*

Uwini's stronghold was broken up, and this chief tried by court martial and shot. Operations were then commenced in the Somabula Forest—various

* "The Matabele Campaign," pp. 266, 267. "We could do much better with three times the number of men, but if they were here we could not possibly feed them. What about our climate? Bright sun always, breeze all day, thermometer 70° in the shade at midday—cool nights—door always open."

patrols scoured the country, killing the enemy, taking prisoners, and seizing upon corn and cattle.* When, with great difficulty, a large force had reached Inyati, a letter arrived from the General stating that the Impi about to be attacked had declared that it wished to surrender. The rebels were submitting in every direction, and the war was practically over.

Wedza's stronghold was one of the last attacked, where one hundred and twenty men, under Colonel Baden-Powell, were resisted by seven hundred of the enemy in a strongly entrenched place. Twenty-five of our men were posted so as to cut off retreat, and heavy firing and shelling were directed against the heart of the position. By means of most excellent strategy and great daring, the villages were captured, the kraals burned, and the defeated enemy obliged to fly.† The Mashona frontier was then cleared, and as Matabeleland had been previously reconquered, it was only now necessary to leave a sufficient force of police in Rhodesia. The natives were told by Lord Grey that "if they still held any lingering idea of ultimately driving out the whites, they might at once dismiss such thoughts for ever; that the railway will

* "All the patrols had met with lion adventures, one small party from Ridley's lot having walked into a family party of nine lions lying down. Another lion visited the waggons. Where we are now camped, the lions were round about, big fires were therefore kept going all night" ("The Matabele Campaign," p. 340).

† An interesting account is furnished of one of the many ancient Phœnician ruins to be found in Mashonaland. "A small circular fort on a smooth rock; walls, except where pulled down intentionally, in wonderfully good preservation. Dressed stones without mortar, and the well-known form of ornamentation—a course of herring-bone, tile-like stones, and a diceboard course" ("The Matabele Campaign," p. 397). Several walls and forts are to be seen in Rhodesia of very ancient origin—see Bent's "Ruined Cities of Mashonaland," and Wilmot's "Monomotapa (Rhodesia)," with ancient map.

shortly be up to Buluwayo, ready to import thousands of troops if necessary ; that certain chiefs will be reinstated as their immediate leaders ; that grievances will be inquired into and set right, wherever it is possible ; and that the Chief Native Commissioner (Taylor) will be the head to whom they will have to refer." The country was divided into districts ruled by Indunas, each of whom was paid by the Government, had about twelve thousand people under him, and was held responsible for good order. Native Commissioners were appointed, in addition to two Chief Commissioners for Matabeleland, and Mashonaland, respectively.

This last campaign in Rhodesia proved that the natives were bloodthirsty and relentless savages, and it was as surprising, as it was consoling, that the white settlers, with their wives and children, were not all barbarously murdered.

The operations lasted eight months, and in that time five thousand men reconquered a country equal in size to Spain, France, and Italy, occupied by nearly thirty thousand warriors. There were 1200 Imperial troops, and more than 4200 local forces raised in South Africa. To these must be added 4800 friendly natives, but a high military authority declared these men to be practically useless.

The mountain fastnesses and caves to which the enemy retreated were the means of protracting military operations, and rendered them much more difficult. The brave manner in which the savages were driven from their fastnesses constituted the chief glory of the campaign.

"The British South Africa Company," throughout

all their arduous undertakings, never experienced greater difficulties than in this rebellion. They had previously fought for acquisition of territory—on this last occasion they struggled for existence. But as formerly, so at this juncture, they triumphed by means of the dogged determination and resolution, not only of British fighting men, but of British shareholders. These last never flinched, never ceased to believe in the prestige of their nation, and in the real value of Rhodesia. A railway was now the crowning work of necessity—that was constructed under the auspices of Mr. Rhodes, and opened to Buluwayo in November, 1897.

The curtain has at last risen on the successful development of one of the greatest mining countries in the world. The iron road is about to utilize coal-fields and forests, while eventually it will take thousands of people from the congested countries of Europe to the great high fertile plateaux, extending northward from the Zambesi to Lake Tanganyika. The progress of Southern Africa has been based principally on mineral centres—it has benefited by Kimberley, and Johannesburg,—now Rhodesia rises above the horizon.

CHAPTER IX.

NATAL — THE ORANGE FREE STATE — THE SOUTH
AFRICAN REPUBLIC — RHODESIA — BASUTOLAND —
BECHUANALAND — THE GERMAN PROTECTORATE —
THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS.

NATAL. IN the lovely garden Colony of Natal the converse holds good of Lord Byron's poetical contrast between the character of modern men of Greece and the beauty of their surroundings. Considering the small white population of the sister Colony, it always produces men of judgment and energy well fitted to grapple with Colonial problems; and, though living in a country whose beautiful coast scenery is accompanied by an enervating climate, it cannot be said that they have ever missed any chance of securing progress and prosperity. The enormous development of gold mining in Johannesburg was a great opportunity, and Natal took full advantage of it. In 1889 the South African Republic would not join the Customs Union, and the sister Colony wisely followed this example, and passed a Bill for admitting goods to the Transvaal free of duty. Putting all other considerations aside, Natal was perfectly right in principle, as the Customs tariff agreed upon by the Cape and the Orange Free

State was a thoroughly bad one, whether judged by principles of sound political economy, or the wants and requirements of the Colonists. Of course the carrying trade to Johannesburg from the coast was specially important, and had to be catered for in a determined manner. As a means of obtaining the great object in view, railway works were pushed forward, and the chief historical events to chronicle are the dates at which the main line reached various points during its inward and onward progress, until at last it happily arrived in the land of El Dorado.*

As we have previously remarked, the Imperial ^{ZULU-}
Government in its relations to South Africa has been LAND.

* In 1895 more than 400 miles of railway were open in Natal. The lines connected—the port with the town of D'Urban (2 miles) as also D'Urban and Verulam (19 miles), on the north coast; Isipingo (11 miles), on the south coast; Pietermaritzburg (71 miles), the capital of the Colony; Ladysmith (190 miles), the junction of the lines to the border of the South African Republic and Harrismith in the Orange Free State; Newcastle (286 miles); and Charlestown (Coldstream), on the borders of the South African Republic—whence the line was extended to a point on the Netherlands Company's line, near Johannesburg. There are, besides, branch lines to coal fields. In 1891 the Government was empowered to take over the branch line to the Dundee coal fields. The extension to Harrismith was opened in 1892. In 1894 an extension was authorized of the main railway line from Charlestown to the border of the South African Republic. This great through line to the Transvaal was opened for traffic in December, 1895. By Act 16 of 1894, provision was made for a railway from Isipingo to Umzinto. Act 34 of 1894, arranging for an extension of the north coast line to the Tugela River, provides that this or any other line may be made by a private Company. In 1885 the Act was amended so as to provide for payment of guarantees or bonuses. Act 38 of 1896 authorizes a line from the South Coast Junction to the Bluff. The following shows railway statistics of Natal—1892 was an exceptionally good year.

Year.	Miles.	Open Revenue.	Expenditure.	Goods Carried.
1881	98½	£173,000	£129,000	171,000 tons.
1889	241	525,000	300,000	267,000 "
1892	386	532,000	365,000	412,000 "
1895	401	526,000	278,000	393,000 "

like a man who, with good cards, played badly. This was well illustrated in Zululand. It was thoroughly conquered, and, after great expenditure of blood and treasure, ought to have been at once annexed to Natal ; instead of this, it was parcelled out, with cruel absurdity, among thirteen Zulu kinglets, who in due course quarrelled among themselves, and fought ferociously. Taking advantage of this position, a colony of Boers seized upon some of the best land in the country, and their independence was recognized in 1886. On the 14th of May, 1887, the remaining part of this fine region was proclaimed a British possession under the name of Zululand. The laws of Natal were made applicable to the new Crown Colony, and the Lieutenant-Governor was vested with the powers and prerogatives of Supreme Chief. Land was declared inalienable, and a system of taxation introduced. Dinizulu, who had been allowed to succeed Cetywayo, rose in rebellion, as might have been expected, but was promptly captured by fifty Boers, under the command of Lucas Meyer, formerly President of the New Republic. He, and other recalcitrant chiefs, were tried, convicted of treason, and deported to St. Helena ; whence, with extraordinary fatuity, they have since been allowed to return to Zululand, in order to hatch plots again, and, if it be in their power, levy war against the Government. The savage, like the leopard, does not change his spots, and for him a policy of justice and vigour, not of weakness and mistaken kindness, is absolutely necessary. History teaches this in the most unmistakable manner, and yet we constantly find well-disposed persons, seven thousand miles away from the arena of action, and

unacquainted with the nature and character of the people, attempting to dictate the line of policy which ought to be pursued. Their success always has meant disaster—not to themselves, as they are out of the way of danger—but to the interests and people of Southern Africa. Fortunately that has been done at last, which should have been done at first, and Zululand is now incorporated with Natal.

Tongoland became an appanage of Zululand, and consequently of Natal. The truth is, that Transvaal emissaries were found to be at work for the purpose of obtaining concessions, and therefore, in April 1895, it was "considered expedient that the territories bounded on the south and east by the Pongola River, on the north by the Maputa, or Usutu River, and on the west by Swazieland and the South African Republic, should be added to the dominions of Her Majesty Queen Victoria." The Governor of Zululand was appointed Special Commissioner for Amatongaland, except as regards matters affecting the adjacent Portuguese possessions and the South African Republic.

Natal has always possessed two political parties, NATAL. one of which is identified with D'Urban and commercial interests, while the other, or Conservative section, is championed by farmers and planters. It cannot be said that the people have had reason to complain of heavy taxation—customs dues have been comparatively light, and the fiscal policy of the country is far superior to that in existence within the Cape Colony. The productions and exports of Natal were disappointing until a large output of coal took place. Sugar had a long fight to keep its head above

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water, and still is a struggling industry. Coffee became a failure ; and so many other things were tried that Natal was known as a country of samples.

The Conservative party, allied closely with country interests, could not rise to those flights of democratic aspiration which made the people of D'Urban enthusiastic advocates of Responsible Government. They saw less than fifty thousand whites in a comparatively small country, where there were nearly half a million natives, and consequently believed that no system which would weaken the links binding them to the Home country, or decrease the British garrison, was desirable. Nevertheless there were powerful arguments in favour of the child declaring itself of age, renouncing leading strings, and being allowed to manage its own affairs. Bitter experience had taught Colonists the superlative foolishness of Downing Street, particularly in connection with Zululand and Native affairs. No people know their own business so well as those directly engaged in it, and a time had come when bold active measures were necessary to extend railways, and secure inland trade.

The Cape, with Responsible Government, exhibited no sisterly friendship ; and Sir John Robinson declared, in 1890, that it was almost a terrible thing that the two Colonies under the same flag, holding the seaboard of South Africa, should continue the relations which existed. It was not, of course, the fault of Natal. He declared in the Legislative Council that they claimed full control over their own affairs and all sections of the population. Seven years ago it had been pleaded that the country was not ripe for an alteration in its constitution, and since then the

Council kept its promise not to agitate for a change : now, on the eve of a dissolution, the undertaking given in 1882 was no longer binding. When this pledge was made, Responsible Government was certainly impossible. Anarchy then existed in Zululand, and the peace of the country was endangered by events at Laing's Nek. Bitter race-feeling existed, the finances were at a low ebb, and depression prevalent. Now there was a good public income, with a large balance in the Treasury ; railways were in progress ; peace prevailed throughout South Africa, and British prestige was restored. On the 26th of June, 1890, Sir John Robinson's motion claiming Responsible Government for the Colony of Natal was carried in the Legislative Council by a majority of two.

Then came the elections. At D'Urban a large majority declared in favour of Responsible Government. The electors were asked if they were content with the present administration? Had they a sufficient labour supply? Were they satisfied with the administration of justice and law in the Magistrates' Courts ; with the government of Natives, and treatment of stock thefts? Did they think that their relations with neighbouring States were satisfactory? The reply of the Colonists at the polling-booths was in the negative, and in a special session of Parliament, held in December, 1890, a Select Committee was appointed to draft a new constitution, on the basis of Responsible Government.* The Report comprised a scheme under which there were to be two Houses of Parliament—the Upper House containing

* The Committee comprised Messrs. Escombe, Sutton, Ball, Archibald, and the mover (Sir J. Robinson).

ten members, and the lower Chamber thirty-seven members, thus including an additional representative from each constituency. The franchise remained unaltered. Five Ministers were provided for at a yearly salary of £800 each, and a Premier at £1000 per annum. £20,000 was reserved each year for "Native" expenditure; and any question affecting sections of the community, not directly represented, was not to be carried merely by a bare majority. The Ministers comprised a Colonial Secretary; Attorney-General; Minister of Education; Secretary of Native Affairs; a Minister for Railways and Public Works; and another for Agriculture, Lands, and Industries. The Premier must hold one of the portfolios.

In 1891 the Responsible Government Bill was agreed to by the Legislative Council, but grave difficulties and a strong opposition compelled the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Knutsford) to declare, in January, 1892, that he could not advise the Queen on the subject. The Legislative Council met in the same month, and, standing to their guns, passed the Constitution Bill by fifteen votes to ten. At last all disputes and difficulties terminated, and Law 14 of 1893 definitely provided for Responsible Government. In place of the former single Chamber the Act constitutes both a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly. Disallowance of any measure passed by them can be declared by Her Majesty within two years. Members, when appointed Ministers, shall not be liable to vacate their seats. The Legislative Council consists of eleven members, summoned by the Governor, with a property

qualification,* who sit for ten years ; but five vacate office at the end of five years. The Assembly comprises thirty-seven members, elected by the people from thirteen constituencies,† and is summoned for four years. No member of the Legislative Council or Assembly can be a contractor with the Government, but may be a purchaser, or lessee, of public land.

Pushing on the Railway to the Transvaal border, and keeping in the good graces of the South African Republic, became objects of paramount importance. As we have seen, the little Colony refused to have anything to do with a Customs Union, which not only would prove a source of dear food, but a cause of displeasure to Pretoria. So engaging was the devotion and friendship of Natal, that even President Kruger was moved, and the political flirtation between him and the Maritzburg authorities caused him, in 1891, to visit Natal in a very friendly manner. Successful negotiations gave D'Urban an immensely enlarged trade with Johannesburg, and helped to fill the Treasury from the largely increased revenue derived from railways. An era of prosperity set in, but the revenue, under a light system of taxation, did not show much increase. It amounted in 1889 to £1,336,000, and in 1895 was only £1,181,000. In 1893 it scarcely amounted to a million, and in that year the expenditure reached the comparatively high amount of £1,973,000. A large debt was the consequence, amounting in 1895 to £8,000,000, for which there are exceedingly good assets.

* Only £500, clear of all mortgages and debt.

† Pietermaritzburg city and county. D'Urban borough and county ; Victoria ; Umvoti ; Weenen ; Klip River ; Alexandra, and Alfred counties.

In 1895 the entire amount raised by means of customs was only £190,000, while the railway receipts were more than half a million. Certainly Natal—so far as fiscal policy is concerned—stands forth pre-eminently superior, both to the Cape Colony and the Transvaal, where taxpayers' burdens are heavy, and the necessities of life severely taxed.*

In 1895, in the old Bond-governed Cape Colony, customs revenue was the Triton among the Minnows, as it reached the sum of £1,465,000, and in the South African Republic, in the same year, out of an income of £3,539,000 more than a million was contributed by "Import dues."

Natal not only set an excellent example of sound fiscal policy, but, when free from the bondage of Exeter Hall Negrophilists and sentimentalists, was able to grapple with Native difficulties. A new complication, however, arose when the immense increase of coolies from India, introduced originally for the purpose of sugar cultivation, raised up serious competition with white traders and artisans. In 1895 the Indian population of Natal had become about equal to that of the Europeans; and it was continuing so to increase, that agitation eventually culminated in restrictive laws.†

"Fortunate is the Colony that has but one port," is exemplified in the case of Natal, which is therefore free from the discordant claims of rival harbours. At D'Urban the works consist of two piers, the north

* Excise in Natal produces more than £20,000 per annum, whereas there is none whatever on distillations from the grape in the Cape Colony. The Natal Native Hut tax produces £84,000 per annum.

† There were crowded outdoor meetings and other demonstrations against the supererogatory Asiatics.

of which was begun in September, 1882, and consists of a monolithic wall about two thousand feet long, completed in June, 1885. The extension of this work was recommended in January, 1891, and a further length of more than one thousand feet finished in 1892. The inner or South Breakwater foundations were at the same time completed to about 1800 feet seaward of the original low-water line. The channel depth, which was in 1882 only six feet one inch, increased to thirteen feet four inches in 1893. More satisfactory results have been obtained since, but the shifting bar remains an obstacle which dredging alone seems capable of overcoming.

One of the most distinguished politicians of the Colony of Natal is Mr. Escombe, who, although a lawyer, has been a champion of harbour improvement, as if he were a Marine Engineer. Colonial coteries have been greatly agitated by fierce disputes with regard to the maintenance in office of an engineer who did not agree with him.

As the Transvaal has been enriched by gold, Griqualand West by diamonds, and Namaqualand by copper, so has Natal been benefited by its special mineral wealth, and that is distinctively coal. The value of this export rose from £46 in 1889 to the amount of £72,315 in 1895,* and has since gone on increasing. Besides the supply of the railway, the Colony, and steamers arriving at D'Urban, there is an adequate output to make Natal one of the great coaling stations of the southern hemisphere, and an offer of coal to Her Majesty's Navy has already been accepted. The value of wool exported is about half a

* The first cargo of coal was taken from Natal in the *Aurora*, in 1890.

million sterling per annum ; while sugar has greatly fallen off. Hides, angora hair, and horns are the next items of any consequence. The total imports for 1895 were valued at £2,500,000, while the exports only amounted to £1,138,000, showing clearly that the carrying trade to the Transvaal, and other extraneous sources of wealth, are absolutely necessary in order that Natal may flourish. There is no want of industry and enterprise in the country, and this is not only proved by successful coal mines, but by energetic farming. The last and most successful departure has been tea planting.

Looking back upon the political history of the Colony we find few salient features for observation, with the exception of the agitation for a constitution, crowned by responsible Government, and the flirtation with President Kruger, rewarded by favoured railway and trade communication with the Transvaal. The Cape Colony always was looked upon as "the big bogey," endeavouring to arrest the advance of this good little colony.

It is impossible, in our brief *résumé*, to refer, in any detail, to the war of hostile politicians under such able leaders as Sir John Robinson and Mr. Escombe. The smallness of the white population of the Colony makes it surprising that it has produced so many politicians of energy and ability of whom its citizens can justly be proud.*

* The ability of the leading newspapers published in D'Urban and Pietermaritzburg is well worthy of notice, and is indicative of the nature and character of the small white population of the country. It seems wonderful that fifty thousand Europeans have been able to build up such a prosperous and well-governed community. The town halls of the two chief towns are fine buildings, and the churches and educational establishments

A review of the laws passed by the Natal Parliament shows a fair record. The Cape, with immense resources to develop, entirely neglected immigration, while Natal constantly fostered it. For instance, in 1891, the sum of £10,000 was voted for the introduction of Europeans, and, in the same year, at a meeting of the Land and Immigration Board, it was resolved to ask the Government to reserve 25,000 acres of land at the lower Umzimkulu for immigrants. It must be remembered that, out of the entire area of Natal, no less than 2,347,228 acres were set apart for the half million of natives, who so continued to increase and multiply, that, in 1890, an additional grant of 25,000 acres in Alfred country was applied for. The government of the Zulus is a wonderful *imperium in imperio* under the Governor, as supreme chief. Native laws have to be administered, and much that is heathenish is tolerated, in a manner that certainly does not logically square with the teachings of Christianity. One departure of consequence must be here referred to, and that is the introduction of "the Gospel of work" by the Trappists, who left the Cape Colony, because there were not sufficient agricultural facilities, and, going to Natal, took root among the Zulus. At their chief station, near Pinetown, as well as in various other places in Natal, as well as in the Transkeian territory, this order of monks is busily converting savages into hardworking sensible Christians. Work in the fields is the main and principal occupation of the converts, are most creditable. As we have seen, there is an excellent system of railway communication, and, in a fertile country with a good fiscal policy, living is comparatively cheap, while generally the conditions of life are easy and pleasant.

and this is so flavoured by religious instruction as to make the people contented and happy. Book-learning is very properly put aside. Reading is taught certainly, but mathematical and classical studies are entirely ignored. The preposterous plan of feeding up the already overweening vanity* of natives is avoided, and it is only in most exceptional cases that the savages, whom it will require generations of teaching to make equal to the white man, are put in a false position by being turned into Clerks, Schoolmasters, and Clergymen.

So far as education is concerned, as well indeed as in many other matters, Natal is superior to the Cape Colony. A minister of education was appointed, under Act 5 of 1894, under whom the Superintendent Inspector of Schools is the chief executive officer. The model furnished by the best elementary English schools is copied; and scientific, technical, and manual instruction have been efficiently introduced. Under a revision of the farm-school system, an increased rate is payable on account of children who live five or more miles beyond a Government or aided school. There are Government establishments, with boarding arrangements, at such places as Ixopo, Stanger, and Umzinto.

The Jameson raid came with the shock of a political earthquake to Natal, and the Governor, Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson, feeling how close was the

* This vanity and conceit is the besetting sin of the Kafir races, and is pandered to immensely by an education which puts them out of their sphere, makes them aliens from their kinsfolk, and at the same time never raises them to the position of Europeans, by whom, unfortunately, they are generally looked down upon with cruel contempt. Of course there are exceptive, very exceptive cases, where clergymen and schoolmasters can be wisely selected.

business alliance between his Government and the Transvaal, accentuated those manifestations of horror, considered so necessary by the South African Republic on this occasion. The people of Natal thought he went too far. No doubt they regarded the Raid as unjustifiable, but had to look at causes as well as effects, when forming a judgment. Mr. Rhodes, up to the time of his misfortunes, had not been a *persona grata* in Natal. He was alleged to have declared that the beautiful garden colony was similar to a forwarding agency in a Kafir location, and these sentiments made him the more disliked because of his close alliance with the Dutch Afrikaner Bond. Then there was the constant competition for Transvaal trade. But a change—a revolution indeed—came over the spirit of the political dream, when Mr. Rhodes, having “faced the music” at Westminster, stood up in South Africa as a champion and leader of those people, whether Dutch, English, or German, who believe in a great junction between north and south—of an eventual federation of States under the paramount influence of the British flag. The politics of the South African League may be taken to be those of Natal, and separation from the Bond means union with the sister Colony.

In the Orange Free State the political cataclysm of January, 1896, caused an important revulsion of feeling. All the sleeping dogs of prejudice, race hatred, and animosity being fully aroused, moderate men were pushed aside. “Blood is thicker than water” was illustrated by the Orange Free State burghers allegorically embracing their much-wronged brethren in the Transvaal. When the election of

ORANGE
FREE
STATE.

President took place, in the beginning of 1896,* Mr. Fraser, member for Bloemfontein in the Raad, was a candidate. He was one of the most experienced, able, and reliable men in the State, but now was completely deserted in favour of a young lawyer, whose views appeared so much to coincide with those of President Kruger that, when Mr. Steyn was sworn in, on the 4th of March, 1896, the former sent a telegram of sincere congratulation, and at the same time expressed a hope that the two Republics would now be more united than heretofore. Soon an effort was made to draw the Orange Free State into such an alliance with its sister State as to make the quarrels of each one that of the other, but the more cool-headed people hesitated to enter into a leonine contract, which gave all the advantages to the South African Republic, and only left dangers, difficulties, and possible ruin as the share of the Orange Free State. The reason of this was obvious. The Transvaal alone feared or invited war, and its rich mineral treasures were worth fighting for, whereas the quiet little Orange Republic was safe in its obscurity and comparative poverty.

The revenue of the country between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, described in the 'fifties as a "howling desert," increased from £202,000 in 1889 to £408,000 in 1895; one of the highest items of receipts for the last-mentioned year was "Import dues," amounting to £109,000 received from the Cape Colony under the Customs Union. Railways also became a great source of profit, and the main trunk

* Votes were for President Steyn, 7572; Fraser, 1405; Van der Lingen, 66.

line connecting the Transvaal with the south paid so well that it was taken over by the Bloemfontein Government. The Volksraad refused, in 1895, to sanction an arrangement under which the Cape was to build several lines in the State, and, at a special Session in October, 1896, it was resolved to build railways from Winburg Road, *vid* Winburg to Clocolan, with branches to Ladybrand and Ficksburg; from Springfontein to Jagersfontein diamond mines, or Fauresmith; from Harrismith to Bethlehem; and from Bloemfontein, in the direction of De Wetsdorp and Wepener. The profits of the main trunk line running through the State were to be devoted to building the new light railways, which were only to be provided with 46-lb. rails. The people of the State now awoke to the fact that the cheapest road was the railway, and that, in a country destitute of canals and navigable rivers, they were too poor to do without them. By their means rich corn country and valuable coal mines could be utilized.

The Orange Free State gained from its friendship with the South African Republic the great advantage of free entrance for all its products into the Transvaal, whereas the Cape Colony has, in this respect, been treated as an enemy's country. Prosperity would certainly be a marked feature of the land but for its severe droughts—recurring certainly, at uncertain intervals; to which must be added a terrible prevalence of disease among animals, culminating recently in rinderpest, which carried off the greater portion of the cattle in a great grass country whose chief wealth is its herds. This territory, thrown

away by Great Britain in 1856, has been steadily and well governed under a Republican system, which does credit to the Boers of South Africa. No gold fields were suddenly discovered before education had been somewhat diffused, and its people were exempt from the temptations which beset the conservative-minded, old-fashioned Boer of the Transvaal when irruptions of civilization overflowed into Johannesburg.

SOUTH
AFRICAN
REPUBLIC.

Of course it was in the Transvaal that the political earthquake of January, 1896, did the most damage. What could have been obtained if Jameson's force had been merely used as a threat was now impossible, and the last state of the Uitlanders became necessarily much worse than their first. This was emphasized by the Executive and in the Raad. Dr. Leyds and the Hollanders were exceedingly triumphant, and, as masters of the position, intrigued for the support of Germany. It was contended that the Suzerainty of Great Britain had been abandoned by Lord Derby, and that the South African Republic should be allowed to take its place as a free and independent State. The British Lion was not much to be feared. He was a mercenary and commercial animal, who would not enter upon an expensive war unless it were absolutely necessary, but, even if he did, let them remember their successes when the Lord fought for the Boers at Laing's Nek and Majuba. German marines were to be landed at Delagoa Bay to protect German interests. This seemed to be the last straw. The British Lion rose in wrath, and showed at once that he was perfectly ready, thoroughly determined, and quite able, to

fight. We have already referred to the flying squadron of men-of-war appointed to sail under sealed orders. It was clear that a mere detachment of the great British fleet could pulverize German harbours, and ruin their trade. The Kaiser therefore saw he had made a mistake, German marines were not landed in Delagoa Bay, and Germany withdrew at once, and for ever, from being the aider, abettor, and backer of the South African Republic.

Like the Laird of Cockpen, each member of the Transvaal Volksraad is greatly "ta'en up" with the affairs of the State. So much so, that he draws £3 per diem for long periods. In 1897, the session stretched almost from January to December. Cincinnatus-like, the members of the Raads abandon the plough cheerfully, and, with light hearts, neglect their farming avocations for the toils of legislation and Government. President Kruger seems to be the soul of the Political machine, and the Raad—the first Raad (the second is merely the shadow of a name) exists principally for the purpose of adopting the opinions and registering the mandates of the Chief of the State. The Executive came into serious conflict with the Judicial Bench, in connection with a case where a man named Brown had incidentally claimed the right to test the laws and resolutions of the Volksraad, and, if inconsistent with the Grondwet or Constitution, get them declared invalid. The Court decided that it possessed this right of testing, but the President, with the Raad, dissented, and ruled that the Bench should not have the power to refuse to apply a law or Transvaal resolution because it might, in its opinion, be opposed to the Constitution.

In fact the so-called testing right did not exist. The judges were informed that they must administer the law under the Besluiten (resolutions) of the Volksraad, and to this the occupants of the Bench replied that there must be a new Grondwet. The Chief Justice of the Cape Colony took it upon himself to offer advice, but met the fate of many well-disposed people who uninvited intervene in quarrels. President Kruger was presumed to have made an agreement with him respecting a new Grondwet, but certainly no new Constitution was framed; and the Transvaal Chief Justice is reported to have said that his learned brother from Cape Town had helped to impose on his judicial brethren an unreal compact which President Kruger failed to keep. Eventually this dispute culminated in the dismissal of Chief Justice Kotze, who went to Europe, but did not find either support or consolation there.

The Government of the Transvaal would be blamable if the Grondwet were precise and definite like that of the United States, which clearly gives to the Judges of the Supreme Court at Washington the power to veto any measure passed by the legislature which is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic. But this is very far from being the case. The Grondwet is a congeries of laws, ill digested and heterogeneous in character, not a precise, clear, and definite constitution. It seems therefore that the general principle which ought to guide all Governments comes in here, and that the acts of the Legislature make law, which must be administered by the Judges and Magistrates of the country. To speak impartially, there can scarcely be

such heinous trampling upon liberty and the independence of the Bench, when we find a majority of the Judges practically differing from their chief, and adhering to their appointments.*

The Volksraad of the Transvaal was ill advised enough to show both narrowness and rancour in passing severe "Press" and "Alien" laws. The Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, lost no time in denouncing these measures, as contrary to the London Convention; and the withdrawal of the Aliens Bill took place, subsequently, "in consequence of a suggestion from the Orange Free State." President Kruger raved against the Suzerainty, but adhered to the Convention, and showed himself a shrewd and cunning statesman; but, unfortunately, so far as internal affairs were concerned, his defects of education and training could not be shaken off, and he remained a very ignorant and prejudiced man, in love with concessions, and suspicious of the Uitlanders. He proved himself a good hater by rising to high flights of indignation against the accursed Jameson and "the murderer Rhodes." It was impossible for him to perceive that fair play to the great mining industry, on which everything depended, meant not only justice but wisdom—the good of every farmer in the country, and prosperity to the State. With dogged persistence,

* Chief Justice Kotze was heartily backed up by the Bar and Side Bar. He says, "The obtaining a Grondwet, safeguarded against sudden changes, and providing for the pure, dignified, and independent administration of justice, as set forth in the understanding, is my only object, as it ought also to be the object of every burgher and friend of the country." The President departed from the understanding. He did not submit a draft Grondwet to the first Volksraad. Chief Justice De Kotze would not submit absolutely, and was dismissed under Article 4 of Law No. 1 of 1897. See "Documents and Correspondence relating to the Judicial Crisis in the South African Republic." London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1898.

the President always opposés the Suzerainty, but, as he admits the London Convention, and declares he will ever adhere to it, the contention consequently about paramount rights is virtually at an end. All that is claimed is paramountcy, and it is a distinction without a difference to oppose this in Suzerainty, and admit it under Convention.

The Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg, is an institution of which any country could be proud. Established on the 5th of October, 1889,* it soon became a lever which helped to raise the great interests it worthily represented. It has bravely and capably fought the battle of the mining industry, taking into consideration such subjects as dynamite and other concessions, railways, the liquor trade among the natives, labour supply and wages, pass regulations, taxation, gold laws, patents, concessions, State cyanide monopoly, coal transport, trading in mining areas, gold production, and treatment of Rand ores. In the Report of 1895 we are told that, in addressing the Volksraad on the dynamite question, the Chamber pointed out the advisability of the State purchasing the rights of the Agent, and recovering its freedom of action with regard to the trade in explosives. The usual result of absence of competition was seen in the varying quality of the article, when, in some cases, the stuff supplied gave off such bad fumes as to be injurious to health and dangerous to life. Owing to the monopoly established, the State was

* The first Council comprised : Messrs. R. R. Hollins, W. Y. Campbell, Carl Hanau, George H. Goch, Ed. Lippert, H. A. Rogers, J. B. Taylor, W. H. Rogers, H. Eckstein, F. C. Liddle, T. M. C. Nourse, J. Hay, W. Hosken, W. F. Lance, G. Richards, G. H. Farrar, F. Spencer, H. L. Currey, L. Phillips, F. J. Dormer, and W. Ross.

subjected to a heavy loss of revenue. Satisfaction is expressed at the fact that at last the gold law was codified. Concessions had been asked for the manufacture of soap, paper, glass, bottles, oil, sugar, sweets, biscuits, condensed milk, margarine, rolled lead, piping, shot, bullets, cyanides, etc. ; but the Chamber presented memorials to the Volksraad against them, and none of them were granted. On the subject of natives and drink we are told that it is not only, or chiefly, that the companies are put to great inconvenience and loss by a certain proportion of their native employees being constantly drunk and incapable, or that they have to keep a larger number in their compounds than would otherwise be necessary ; but that the greater number of deaths, whether by accidents in the mines, or in the faction fights which result from the orgies which are indulged in, are directly attributable to drunkenness. If the liquor law were properly enforced much of the existing evil would be prevented. But, although the law itself is a good one, it is to a great extent a dead letter.*

Besides these evils it is recorded that repeated molestations of natives occur, the vaccination regulations are abused for the purpose of extorting money, and the inspection of passes is made a means of forcing the poor wretches to pay for relief. There was no law to enforce the performance of contracts,

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In fact the so-called testing right did not exist. The judges were informed that they must administer the law under the Besluiten (resolutions) of the Volksraad, and to this the occupants of the Bench replied that there must be a new Grondwet. The Chief Justice of the Cape Colony took it upon himself to offer advice, but met the fate of many well-disposed people who uninvited intervene in quarrels. President Kruger was presumed to have made an agreement with him respecting a new Grondwet, but certainly no new Constitution was framed; and the Transvaal Chief Justice is reported to have said that his learned brother from Cape Town had helped to impose on his judicial brethren an unreal compact which President Kruger failed to keep. Eventually this dispute culminated in the dismissal of Chief Justice Kotze, who went to Europe, but did not find either support or consolation there.

The Government of the Transvaal would be blamable if the Grondwet were precise and definite like that of the United States, which clearly gives to the Judges of the Supreme Court at Washington the power to veto any measure passed by the legislature which is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic. But this is very far from being the case. The Grondwet is a congeries of laws, ill digested and heterogeneous in character, not a precise, clear, and definite constitution. It seems therefore that the general principle which ought to guide all Governments comes in here, and that the acts of the Legislature make law, which must be administered by the Judges and Magistrates of the country. To speak impartially, there can scarcely be

such heinous trampling upon liberty and the independence of the Bench, when we find a majority of the Judges practically differing from their chief, and adhering to their appointments.*

The Volksraad of the Transvaal was ill advised enough to show both narrowness and rancour in passing severe "Press" and "Alien" laws. The Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, lost no time in denouncing these measures, as contrary to the London Convention; and the withdrawal of the Aliens Bill took place, subsequently, "in consequence of a suggestion from the Orange Free State." President Kruger raved against the Suzerainty, but adhered to the Convention, and showed himself a shrewd and cunning statesman; but, unfortunately, so far as internal affairs were concerned, his defects of education and training could not be shaken off, and he remained a very ignorant and prejudiced man, in love with concessions, and suspicious of the Uitlanders. He proved himself a good hater by rising to high flights of indignation against the accursed Jameson and "the murderer Rhodes." It was impossible for him to perceive that fair play to the great mining industry, on which everything depended, meant not only justice but wisdom—the good of every farmer in the country, and prosperity to the State. With dogged persistence,

* Chief Justice Kotze was heartily backed up by the Bar and Side Bar. He says, "The obtaining a Grondwet, safeguarded against sudden changes, and providing for the pure, dignified, and independent administration of justice, as set forth in the understanding, is my only object, as it ought also to be the object of every burgher and friend of the country." The President departed from the understanding. He did not submit a draft Grondwet to the first Volksraad. Chief Justice De Kotze would not submit absolutely, and was dismissed under Article 4 of Law No. 1 of 1897. See "Documents and Correspondence relating to the Judicial Crisis in the South African Republic." London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1898.

the President always opposes the Suzerainty, but, as he admits the London Convention, and declares he will ever adhere to it, the contention consequently about paramount rights is virtually at an end. All that is claimed is paramountcy, and it is a distinction without a difference to oppose this in Suzerainty, and admit it under Convention.

The Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg, is an institution of which any country could be proud. Established on the 5th of October, 1889,* it soon became a lever which helped to raise the great interests it worthily represented. It has bravely and capably fought the battle of the mining industry, taking into consideration such subjects as dynamite and other concessions, railways, the liquor trade among the natives, labour supply and wages, pass regulations, taxation, gold laws, patents, concessions, State cyanide monopoly, coal transport, trading in mining areas, gold production, and treatment of Rand ores. In the Report of 1895 we are told that, in addressing the Volksraad on the dynamite question, the Chamber pointed out the advisability of the State purchasing the rights of the Agent, and recovering its freedom of action with regard to the trade in explosives. The usual result of absence of competition was seen in the varying quality of the article, when, in some cases, the stuff supplied gave off such bad fumes as to be injurious to health and dangerous to life. Owing to the monopoly established, the State was

* The first Council comprised : Messrs. R. R. Hollins, W. Y. Campbell, Carl Hanau, George H. Goch, Ed. Lippert, H. A. Rogers, J. B. Taylor, W. H. Rogers, H. Eckstein, F. C. Liddle, T. M. C. Nourse, J. Hay, W. Hosken, W. F. Lance, G. Richards, G. H. Farrar, F. Spencer, H. L. Currey, L. Phillips, F. J. Dormer, and W. Ross.

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hospitals and schools encouraged, and many useful works undertaken. Rinderpest and Native insurrection much retarded the progress of the country. The Directors tell us that the credit for the termination of the rebellion in Matabeleland was largely due to Mr. Rhodes, who, realizing that the natives were anxious to make terms, and that fear alone deterred them from surrendering, went unarmed into the hills, accompanied by Mr. J. W. Colenbrander, Dr. Hans Sauer, Mr. Stent, and John Grootboom. "He succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Chiefs, and thus, by fearless exposure of his life, terminated the war at the moment when it was still possible, by timely action, to avert the famine, which threatened large numbers of the native population. . . . Since the final Indaba in the Motopos the attitude of the natives in Matabeleland has been one of absolute submission. . . . The Department has been strengthened by carefully selected Native Commissioners from Natal. . . . In Mashonaland the task has been more difficult, in consequence of the absence of any central Native Authority."

Railway communication was an absolute necessity, not merely for the progress and prosperity of Rhodesia, but for its very existence; so that when, in November, 1897, the chief centre of Matabeleland, at Buluwayo, was united to all the ports of Southern Africa, a demonstration of unusual importance took place. Invitations were sent throughout the Cape

Administrator. Captain the Hon. Arthur Lawley became Secretary to Earl Grey and afterwards Deputy Administrator. His eloquence at the banquet which celebrated the opening of the Buluwayo Railway attracted great attention. Mr. J. M. Orpen, M.L.A. of Cape Colony, became Surveyor-General.

Colony, Natal, and neighbouring States ; every one invited was the guest of Rhodesia, and for a week there was an unbounded exercise of hospitality.

“ No jocund health that Denmark drinks to-day
But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell ;
And the king's rouse the heaven shall bruit again,
Re-speaking earthly thunder.” *

At the succession of banquets given in honour of the occasion, interesting speeches were delivered by many of the leading men of Southern Africa, as well as by several members of the Imperial Legislature. The High Commissioner specially represented Her Majesty's Government, and Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson the Colony of Natal. The Deputy Administrator, the Hon. Captain Lawley, in surpassing eloquence, fully took advantage of the opportunity to defend the policy of the Chartered Company, and explain the position and prospects of the country. To any one who looks at a map of Rhodesia it must seem extraordinary that a railway does not unite the comparatively adjacent Portuguese harbour at Beira, on the Pungwe River, with Buluwayo, but, fortunately for the South, it is the policy of the North to be united with it, so that Cape Town and Port Elizabeth are the new ports of Matabeleland.† A railway

* During the festivities the following cable message was despatched by Earl Grey from Balmoral, by command of Her Majesty the Queen, and was received by the inhabitants of Buluwayo with acclamations of enthusiastic loyalty : “ The Queen desires me to convey to her people at Buluwayo her heartiest congratulations on the arrival of the railway, and her good wishes for their future prosperity.”

† Mr. Rhodes has publicly and emphatically stated that he had the money, and the option of uniting Buluwayo with Beira or the Cape Colony, and chose the latter alternative. The line *viâ* Salisbury from Beira is to join the main line near the Zambesi, not to make a junction at Buluwayo.

from Beira to New Umtali is being continued to Salisbury in Mashonaland; great coal mines are to be tapped by an extension from Buluwayo, and a main trunk line is to cross the Zambesi, and go north to Lake Tanganyika. A future generation will see it entering Cairo.

So far as the mineral resources of Mashonaland and Matabeleland are concerned, Mr. Hammond, one of the most eminent mining engineers who ever visited South Africa, declared in 1894—"To summarize, I would say that I consider the prospects of the country encouraging. The veins being undoubtedly true fissure veins, and the mineralization being, as attested by the ancient workings, very extensive, there are, I think, substantial grounds to predict the opening up of shoots of ore from which an important mining industry will ultimately be developed."

The absence of satisfactory railway communication prevented the importation of heavy machinery, and mining operations were consequently limited to prospecting work. Then came Native disturbances and rinderpest. Transport became completely disorganized, and consequently development work was most seriously impeded. Confidence, however, never abated; 56,000 gold claims were registered in the books of the Company on the 31st of March, 1895, and no fewer than 156,000 claims, representing 4,438 miles of reef, on the 31st of January, 1898. Very numerous companies are at work, developing, procuring machinery, setting up batteries, beginning to crush.

The telegraph line has been completed to a distance of 263 miles north of Blantyre (Nyassa), and 595 miles north of Umtali, and is being rapidly pushed forward in the direction of Khartoum and Cairo.

The balance sheet for the year ending 31st March, 1896, shows a total revenue in Rhodesia of £400,000, as against an income of only £119,000 in the preceding year. Of the former amount £211,000 was obtained from the sale of Stands, and of the latter £53,000. The receipts for the year ended 31st March, 1896, exceeded the expenditure by £59,000. The next year shows less satisfactory results, owing to Native disturbances and rinderpest. The rebellion expenditure alone amounted to £2,266,000. For the year ended 31st March, 1898, there was a great advance, as the revenue, exclusive of land sales, reached the sum of £196,000. During the same period the expenses were abnormally high. An issue of 5 per cent. debentures, to the amount of £1,250,000, and a successful issue of shares at a premium price, put the finances of the Company in order. The Directors, feeling that the shareholders have to be considered, declare that the time has come when, while adhering to the policy of not embarking directly in mining operations, it should take a more active part in the development of the minerals, in which it retains a joint interest with the holders of mining claims. The increase of the capital by £1,500,000 supplies sufficient capital for development, where immediately necessary, and for general purposes, until expenditure is balanced by revenue. There are more than 180 joint stock companies connected with Rhodesia, most of which exist for mining purposes. It has taken a long time to prepare the ground and sow the seed, but there are now indications of a good harvest. Certainly the reports of leading companies are very promising, and indications

are not wanting that Rhodesia ere long will be ranked among the great gold-producing countries of the world.

**BASUTO-
LAND.**

The irregular oval in the north-east of the Cape Colony styled Basutoland, most of which is occupied by the Maluti Mountains, which form a part of the great Drakenberg Chain, is becoming a congested territory. The census of 1891 informs us that there were then 218,000 people in a hilly broken country, whose area is estimated to include about 10,000 square miles. European settlement is prohibited; the mineral treasures of the country are under strict lock and key, so that no mine can be worked; while, by the settlement made in 1883, the Imperial Government continues, with moral suasion and the diplomatic tact of its officials, to keep up a pretence of government. Of course there is a Resident Commissioner, acting under Her Majesty's High Commissioner; and the latter is declared to possess legislative authority, exercised by means of proclamations. The chiefs, however, adjudicate in all matters between natives, and there is a nominal right of appeal to Magistrates' Courts. Hereditary chiefs, allied to the Moshesh family, preside over the six districts* into which the country is divided, and really do very much as they please. As an indication of this fact, it is only necessary to mention that Umhlohlo, the brutal murderer of a British magistrate (Major Hope), has been able to reside, with perfect safety, in the midst

* These six districts are named Maseru, Leribe, Cornet Spruit, Berea, Mafeteng, and Quthing. The productions of Basutoland comprise wool, wheat, mealies, Kafir corn, cattle, and horses. It is a great grain country, and a railway is being made from the Orange Free State to tap its resources. There are Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Basutoland, who report favourably upon the intelligence of the people.

of a community absurdly supposed to be under civilized rule. The abominations of savagery continue, misrule and injustice prevail, "the talent" of great mineral treasures is allowed to lie buried in the ground, while the people immensely increase in number, and will soon have to burst the bonds which confine them in mountain fastnesses. It appears that, in some respects, improvements have taken place, as serious crime is not so common as formerly, while the drinking habits, which under Cape Colony rule threatened to destroy the Basuto people, have been practically abandoned. "There is now not a single canteen in the country." With an increase of population there has been an increase of industry, the area under arable cultivation has been immensely enlarged, and large sums are annually obtained by Basutos, who go to work in the mines of Kimberley and Johannesburg. The Cape Colony continues to be allied to Basutoland by means of the Customs Union, and is responsible, as a contributor to its revenue, for the amount of £20,000 per annum.

The Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland, originally formed on the ashes of the former fires of Stellaland and Goshen, did not last many years. Its very existence was abnormal; revenue and expenditure barely balanced, and, if development were possible, certainly the people of the Colony were best able to attend to it. Consequently, under the approval of Downing Street, the Cape Parliament, in 1895, affirmed the expediency of annexation. Act 41 of that year declared the territory a new electoral province of the Cape Colony. There was to be no change in the law prohibiting the sale of intoxicants, nor

BRITISH
BECHU-
ANALAND.

were lands reserved for natives to be alienated. Extraordinary abnormal legislation ! In principle it is clearly admitted that there should be prohibition of the sale of alcohol to aborigines. This is recognized in the law affecting all Transkeian territories, and it is now admitted to be right in Bechuanaland. Why, then, should it not be also correct among the great masses of natives exactly similar in character inhabiting the eastern districts of the Cape Colony between the Great Fish and Kei Rivers ? The argument about the franchise is not tenable, as full privileges under the Constitution Act are equally extended over all parts of the Cape Colony.

THE
BECHU-
ANALAND
PROTEC-
TORATE.

There is a much greater territory, styled the Bechuanaland Protectorate. An order in Council of the 9th of May, 1891, empowered Her Majesty's High Commissioner, by proclamation, dated 10th June, 1891, to declare that he was empowered, with due respect for native laws and customs, to provide from time to time for the administration of justice, the raising of revenue, and generally for the peace, order, and good government, of all persons, within the limits of the territories bounded by British Bechuanaland, the German Protectorate, the rivers Chobe and Zambesi, the Portuguese possessions, and the South African Republic. There shall be Resident Commissioners, each one of whom is to act as Treasurer of the territories under him, and hold courts for the trial of offenders. A Native Chief may be assigned to try cases, subject to rules laid down for his guidance. The law to be administered shall be as near as practicable that of the Cape Colony. No person may trade without a licence, and the sale or

gift of liquor to natives is strictly prohibited. Concessions or grants made by chiefs must have the approval of Her Majesty's Government.*

Khama is the chief who has most prominently come under the notice of Europeans. As the husband of one wife, and the *protégé* of missionaries, his praises have been elaborately sounded. No doubt he loves his people, and has prevented their demoralization by "fire water." He also looks well after the main chance, and, together with the Chiefs Sebele and Bethoen, went to England in 1895, upon an important mission to the Colonial Office, when they were fêted and treated as African lions. In a letter from the Secretary of State, dated November 7, 1895, Mr. Chamberlain declares in favour of the railway to Matabeleland running through the eastern part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and for that purpose requires each of the three chiefs to give up a strip of country along the Transvaal border. Khama, Sebele, and Bethoen shall each have a country within which they are to live as hitherto, under the protection of the Queen. The people must pay to the Queen's Officer a Hut Tax, to be collected by the chiefs, "but this is not to be made a reason for paying over too little."

* It is provided that "the Assistant Commissioner and Magistrate of Bechuanaland shall exercise jurisdiction over the whole of Bechuanaland including the Tati district, and the territory known as the disputed territory, excepting the area included in the Tuli district; and shall hold courts at Kanye, Ramoutsie, Gaberones, Machuli, and Molepolole; and the Magistrate for Bechuanaland, and the Tati district, shall exercise jurisdiction within Khama's country, the disputed territory, and the Tati district, excepting the area included in the Tuli district, and shall hold courts at Macloutsie, Palapye, and Tati." Sir Frederick Carington, speaking of Bechuanaland, rather aptly said, "This country is like a young tree which takes some time to start, but when it has started it grows and expands, but it requires protection, and its growth must be encouraged."

“White man’s strong drink shall not be brought for sale into the country now assigned to the chiefs; and those who attempt to deal in it, or give it away to black men, will be punished. The Queen’s Officer will have one or two officers with him to help him, and he and they will have a few white mounted men to convey their messages and do their bidding. There will also be a force of black mounted Police, who will be men not addicted to strong drink, and who will be employed in seeing that the law against strong drink is not broken, and that peace and order are maintained. But the chiefs themselves must give help if the law against strong drink is to prevail, especially if their own people try to break it.”

The extent and boundaries of the countries of Sebele and Khama are defined, and the latter chief is told that the country now allotted to him is very much larger than that which he told Sir Charles Warren, in 1885, was sufficient for his tribe. This is, indeed, the case, as he now owns the waters of the Pakwe and nearly the whole of the country between the Macloutsie and the Shashi, as well as the country to the north as far as the Nata River, and to the west, as far as Sir Sidney Shippard’s boundary award. “Outside the boundaries now laid down for the chiefs, the British South Africa Company will administer; but the chiefs will continue to have the hunting rights which they now enjoy, provided that they agree to observe a ‘close season.’”

The success of Khama was complete—he was fêted throughout England, and his own good conduct, aided by the powerful assistance of missionaries and Exeter Hall people, were, no doubt, factors in obtaining

from the Colonial Office terms of such a liberal character as somewhat to disgust the Chartered Company. The native might, on such an occasion as this, well say, "Save me from my friends." For the natives, as well as for the cause of good government, civilization, and progress, it would have been better, if it had been possible, to annex the entire Protectorate to the possessions of the British South Africa Company. The aboriginal native really is an impossible ruler where white men and civilization are concerned. He becomes the prey of interested people, and he is easily deceived and plundered. Under Khama there will be respectable stagnation, with missionary influence, but no progress. Minerals will remain undeveloped, arable lands uncultivated, the riches of the country undiscovered, so that development will have to wait until, eventually, as in the Cape Colony, the force of circumstances will compel the white man to take his legitimate position of control. It will be a happy day for all the natives of Bechuanaland when their country is incorporated with Rhodesia. Latterly they have suffered much—rinderpest has swept away their cattle, and starvation many of their people. The railway passes through Bechuanaland, but it will be long before its inhabitants practically appreciate its advantages.

Confusion worse confounded prevailed in the beautiful strip of coast country extending between the Cape Colony and Natal. Chief fought against chief, while bloodshed, witchcraft, and all sorts of cruelties and abominations prevailed in a territory nominally under the British Protectorate. Probably the most worthless, drunken, and turbulent population

PONDOLAND.

in South Africa existed in Pondoland, previous to its annexation to the Cape Colony in September, 1894. The complete subjugation of the Matabili so raised the prestige of the white man that it was considered opportune, early in 1894, to send the Cape Mounted Rifles with Maxim equipment to the Pondoland Border. Major Elliott bore a message to the Paramount Chief, Sigcau, informing him that the High Commissioner intended to put an end to the confusion in the country by annexing it—peaceably, or otherwise.

Sigcau was arrested for passively opposing the registration of huts, and brought to Kokstad, where he was tried by a commission of officials. He applied to the Supreme Court for his release, and, not having been arrested under a legal warrant, was successful. Subsequently, with great prudence, Sigcau and Nqũliso each agreed to receive £500 per annum from the Cape Government—and for this mess of pottage their birthright was sold. Immense concessions granted by the paramount chief were ignored, magistrates were appointed, and a country that had been similar to a den of wild beasts, fighting with each other, was now placed under the British flag.

Reference has already been made to the great mistake of not claiming those vast tracts of sparsely peopled country which stretch north of the Orange River to the Portuguese territories on the east coast.* A German, named Luderitz, established a business at Angra Pequena, claimed protection from his Government, and the British authorities subsequently were easily induced to allow the thin edge of the wedge to be

* Sir Charles Dilke expresses himself strongly on this subject, and when too late the Cape Colony politicians made a great stir.

inserted. A very little protectorate was acknowledged—but this was everything. The wedge was quickly driven home, until the map was painted German from the Cuanene to the Orange River, and from the Atlantic to the head waters of the Zambesi, skirting the river Chobi. Of course a treaty of protection and friendship was duly made between the Kaiser and the Hereros,* in which Kamaherero, “guided by the wish to confirm the friendly relations in which he and his people have lived with the Germans for years, prays His Majesty the Emperor to take over the protection of himself and his people.” However, the Hottentots, under Hendrik Witbooi, gave a great deal of trouble, and it was not until 1895 that an amicable arrangement was made with them. The Damara Chief Hermanus was also squared, by the promise of an annual payment of a thousand marks, for which this patriot undertook, when called upon, to supply “levies” of natives.

Damaraland and Great Namaqualand are undoubtedly worth having. For ostriches and cattle, a large portion of the country is suitable; mineral treasures certainly exist; but last, and most important of all, the strategic position of this territory

* It is amusing to read the view taken by some British traders. We are told by them that the German Protectorate of Damaraland is unique. The Paramount Chief was induced, under the influence of liquor, to sign his name to a document of which he positively declares the purport was misrepresented to him. A chief has no right to alienate tribal rights without the people's consent, and the Damara people never cease to repudiate what was done. Kamaherero learnt with astonishment that he had given away his country to strangers.

One good resulting from the European occupation of a country is that inhuman massacres are put an end to. The Damaras who lived on the river Nosop, in the year 1891, went, 2000 strong, to Hendrik Witbooi's place, and there killed men, women, and children, taking only some of them prisoners.

may enable it to drain an enormous trade from a rich interior by means of a railway from the Swakop mouth or Fish Bay to Rhodesia. Here a port can be made far nearer Europe than Table Bay, and a direct line inland is exceedingly possible. We are told that there is no sand belt to traverse before reaching the firm ground of the interior; but undoubtedly the expenses of constructing a suitable harbour will be very great. Whatever transformation may eventually occur, there can be no doubt that at present the country is metaphorically in a chrysalis state. The European population increases very slowly, and most of the people settle near Windhoek, where they are safe from the depredations of natives. Farms have been marked off, and some progress is in course of being made. Various companies are employed in exploiting, exploring, and prospecting; and one of them, some time ago, undertook the improvement of the landing station at Luderitz-bucht, and the construction of a railway to the interior.

PORTU-
GUESE
POSSES-
SIONS.

The Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa extended, in a very undefined manner, from Delagoa Bay, Quillamine, and Mozambique far inland. Indeed the dog in the manger would have been an excellent heraldic emblem for Portugal, as it claimed enormous territories which it could never possibly utilize or govern. Fortunately, however, the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of June, 1891, fixed a reasonable boundary between the dominions of His Most Faithful Majesty and the British possessions. Portugal now may be said to own a country bounded by the Zambesi on the north, and by Amatongaland on the south; the Convention line and the South African Republic

on the west, and the ocean on the east. The ports are Chinde, Chiloana, Inhambane, Lorenzo Marques (Delagoa Bay), and Beira (Pungwe River). The last is now connected by railway with the Mashonaland section of Rhodesia. In the Mozambique Company's territory * a royal decree, dated 7th of May, 1892, arranges for adequate administration. All officials are subordinate to the Governor of this country, and the seat of Government is fixed at Beira : Manica and Sofala are divided into districts. Ancient Ophir is again a place of gold mines, but now the Portuguese and British vie in their exertions to develop it; and at Buluwayo, Gwelo, Salisbury, and a hundred other places, the prospector, the miner, and the company-promoter are busily engaged.

The struggles, difficulties, and disappointments connected with Delagoa Bay are very serious. A railway was tardily made—so slowly, that, after many extensions of time, the authorities declared that, if a certain portion of the line were not finished by a given date, they would declare the concession forfeited. They did this, and seized upon the railway.†

* Under this Company's Charter from the Government of Portugal, it has the right to administer an area of 60,000 square miles in extent, with a coast line stretching from the mouth of the Zambesi to the mouth of the Sabi. The town of Beira forms the headquarters station. The Charter obliges the Company to construct a railway from the Pungwe River to the British possessions. Portugal agreed to make this line under the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1891. A concession was given to an English company, by whom it has been constructed. The Mozambique Company pays $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of its net profits to Portugal, but obtains immunity from all taxation for twenty-five years.

† The great MacMurdo arbitration case has been going on like "Jarndyce and Jarndyce," or any other expensive, long-continued Chancery suit. The Arbitrators protract proceedings in the most extraordinary manner. It is generally believed that, in the end, Portugal will be compelled by pecuniary considerations to sell the railway. They have also scarcely the means of keeping the natives in restraint. In 1894, five thousand natives rose in

Want of money fearfully militated against the good government of Portugal on the African East Coast. Funds were specially necessary for harbour and other public works, but it was not possible to obtain them from an insolvent Treasury. Worst of all, the natives resented taxation, rebelled, and even seriously threatened the European population at Delagoa Bay. Forces were sent from Portugal, and at last peace and comparative order were restored; but the port will never be worthy of its reputation until it is either owned or leased by some Power with sufficient means to make all its great resources available.

rebellion; and even Gungunhana did not hesitate to declare war against Portugal. It is now believed that arrangements have been virtually made for the lease of Delagoa Bay by Great Britain, in which case the enormous natural advantages of the place will be developed.

CHAPTER X.

THE CAPE COLONY—CONCLUSION.

1896—1898.

THE political earthquake which convulsed the Transvaal and all Southern Africa, in January, 1896, left terrible effects, so that the greatest moderation and wisdom were necessary. The session of the Cape Parliament was opened, on the 1st of May, 1896, by a speech, in which the Sprigg Ministry declared, through the mouth of Sir Hercules Robinson, that an armed force crossed the border of the South African Republic contrary to the rules of International Law, and that such entry, deeply deplored by all right-thinking Colonists, had produced the most lamentable results. Her Majesty's Government might be confidently expected to take steps to prevent the recurrence of a calamity which had stirred so deeply the sentiments of all people in South Africa, and so gravely endangered the relationship between the British Colonies and the adjoining States — with whom every endeavour would be made to keep in friendship. A rising in Bechuanaland of no great consequence is referred to, and it is stated, at the

same time, that the attitude of our aboriginal natives is fairly satisfactory. At the great "Glen Grey" location the taxes were readily paid, and it was intended to extend further the principle of the Act under which this settlement was formed. A new and far from successful "labour agency" at Johannesburg is noticed. The speech bore somewhat the nature of a "Jeremiad," as it had to commence with lamentations over the Raid, and conclude by condolences with sufferers from the plague of locusts and the terrible calamities inflicted by a severe drought. But, like Pandora's box, there was hope at the bottom. Irrigation is the last subject alluded to, and the ever-watchful ministry of Sir Gordon Sprigg declares itself fully alive to its necessity.

Sir David Tennant, who had occupied the chair of Speaker of the House of Assembly for twenty-two years, was now appointed Cape Agent-General in London. In his stead the Honourable H. H. Juta, member of the Assembly for Oudtshoorn, and formerly Attorney-General, was elected, and, as admitted by all parties, performed the duties of the office with admirable impartiality and ability.*

In the House of Assembly it was obvious that there was to be a great battle, and attention was soon directed to a motion of Mr. Merriman, brought forward on the 12th of May, 1896, declaring, "that in the opinion of this House the exercise of sovereign rights by a trading and financial company, such as the "British South Africa," was not consistent with the peace and prosperity of South Africa, and that

* He served as Speaker during the sessions of 1896 and 1897 as well as in the first session of 1898, when, on the occasion of the general election, he lost his seat for Oudtshoorn.

the Queen be requested, by a respectful address, to revoke the Charter." Then came a very long debate. Mr. Merriman was greeted with loud cheers, when he declared that the whole of this attempt was a sordid scheme by which, under any circumstances, the promoters should make a gigantic profit. We have seen already that this is a calumny. The enthusiastic prosecutor declared that "the great work which the Charter had done was—

" ' Sword and fire,
Red ruin, and the breaking up of laws ; ' "

but any impartial student of history must perceive the gross injustice of this sweeping condemnation. All sovereign rights, he said, should be taken from the British South Africa Company, either by means of the revocation, or the alteration, of the Charter.* Mr. Schreiner moved that the House emphatically condemned the inroad, and "deplored its consequences, trusted that the Home Government would introduce a searching investigation, felt assured that a policy of mutual conciliation would be adopted, and resolved that a Select Committee of seven members, to be named by Mr. Speaker, should inquire into the circumstances as affecting the Colony." Mr. Schreiner's speech did him honour, as he scrupulously avoided condemnation of individuals before trial, and, in a peroration, which showed his love of justice, declared that he disconnected the name of Mr. Rhodes entirely from any sordid motives or aims. Certainly Mr.

* From correspondence read on the occasion of the Barkly East Election for the Assembly in 1898, this condemnation seems the more sweeping and unjust because it comes from a man who sympathized with the political wrongs of the Uitlanders in Johannesburg, and was apparently in favour of a revolution.

Schreiner did not scruple to do his duty when, as Attorney-General, he determined to go to war with the Government of the South African Republic rather than sacrifice the interests of the people of the Cape Colony. Mr. Innes moved an amendment to Mr. Merriman's motion. He wanted a judicial inquiry, and, with considerable courage, expressed an earnest hope that in the Transvaal such steps would be taken towards the favourable consideration of any legitimate grievances of the "Uitlander" population as might conduce to the peace, union, and welfare of South Africa. In Mr. Sauer's speech he spoke of the foolishness of those persons who declared that it would have been a good thing if Jameson had entered Johannesburg, and perhaps marched at the head of a force to Pretoria. In such a case, he declared, dire calamity would have passed over South Africa—unspeakable in its terror—which could not have been confined to the Transvaal and the Free State, but would have extended to Cape Town, and prevented their being able to sit that day discussing what was best to be done under these unfortunate circumstances. Admitting the guilt of the Chartered Company, the question must be dealt with, not as a Colonial, but as a South African one. Sir Gordon Sprigg agreed with the amendment. Sir James Sivewright said that a time might come when it would be the duty of that House to impeach Mr. Rhodes—he believed, indeed, that when the evidence elicited by the Select Committee was published that the time for the exercise of that duty would arrive. He trusted that he would not lack courage to do his duty. The amendment of Mr. Innes was lost on a division by a large majority, and the

original motion of Mr. Schreiner carried by forty-five to twenty-eight.

The Committee of the House of Assembly on the Raid took voluminous evidence, and, in another place, we have adverted to the nature and character of the Report. It reflected to some extent the passion and prejudice which resulted as a sequence from the very recent occurrence of events which could then be regarded neither with calm impartiality nor sufficient perspective. The Report has to be put on one side as a document of small value, because no adequate reference is made in it to the grievances of the Uitlanders, while a spirit of prejudice is very thinly veiled. No doubt evidence was obtained which would have been more valuable if it did not merely prove what was admitted.

On the other hand, the House of Commons Report is based upon much more important and valuable testimony, including statements respecting the *fons et origo* of disaffection and revolution, the cruel and insolent refusal of constitutional rights to Uitlanders, and the circumstances generally which caused the outburst of long-restrained suffering. In fact, the Imperial inquiry is comparatively complete, and the Report is not tinged with prejudice.

The budget speech of Sir Gordon Sprigg bristled with interesting statistics. The banking assets and liabilities of the Colony, up to March, 1895, totalled £24,000,000; in March, 1896, they had advanced to £41,000,000. The Government Savings Bank deposits increased within that time by £120,000. The valuation of all properties now amounted to £40,000,000, being higher than at any previous valuation. In

1885, diamonds were only £1 per carat, whereas in 1895 they advanced in price to £5 per carat. The total value of the output of these precious gems since 1883 was £45,000,000; the exports of South African produce in 1895 amounted in value to £16,788,000, being an increase of over £3,000,000 as compared with 1894. The principal increases were diamonds, £177,500; gold, £828,000; Angora hair, £290,000; wool, £145,000; ostrich feathers, £50,000. The working of the Scab Act favourably affected wool production.* The total value of imports into the Cape Colony, exclusive of specie, for the year 1895 was £13,163,000.

The railways only commenced to pay in 1887, and since then form a large and increasing source of revenue. For 1895 they brought in no less than £184,000 clear profit into the Treasury. The total revenue of the year was £6,828,000, to which had to be added a surplus of £182,000, making a total of £7,010,000. On the other hand, the expenditure was only £5,760,000, thus leaving a handsome surplus or credit balance of £1,250,000. So far as the disposal of the surplus was concerned, £500,000 was set apart to fight rinderpest, then commencing to devastate South Africa, but eventually more than £1,000,000 was required for that purpose.† Railway brakes were

* It must be remembered that the Scab Act was so emasculated by the Bond party as to be considerably shorn of its power and efficiency. For instance, a suicidal section was inserted permitting farmers to elect Scab Inspectors. Consequently, instead of stamping out scab as was done in Australia, the Scab Act has necessarily been only a partial success. It is better than nothing, though in many divisions wholly inoperative.

† Rinderpest proved most destructive to cattle in Rhodesia, the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, Natal, and the Orange Free State. Enormous sums, amounting to more than a million, were expended by the Cape in guarding drifts, fencing hundreds of miles of territory, etc. Probably these great efforts retarded the arrival of the disease in the Cape Colony, and

provided at a cost of £184,000; railway subsidies, £200,000; local works loan, £100,000; and irrigation, £270,000. Three irrigation schemes were proposed, but prematurely, as changes in the law, and proper scientific surveys and checks were first necessary.

A very important measure was ultimately introduced (second session, 1898) to consolidate and amend the law with regard to water rights, and to provide for the administration of the affairs of waters and bodies of water, and for the promotion and organization of irrigation enterprise. One of its most important sections provides that all waters in rivers, lakes, lagoons, and marshes, "except those hereinbefore mentioned as being in private ownership," are public waters, dedicated to the use of the people of the Colony.*

The healthy state of the public funds found a reflex in England, where Cape $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock stood at the high price of £118 7s. 6d. Auction dues were entirely taken off, and Transfer duties reduced by one half. Very unfortunately, the Innes Liquor Bill, providing for that wise check on the sale of intoxicants unanimously recommended by the Labour Commission, was rejected by the Upper House.† At this time

gave time for Dr. Koch and his coadjutors to prepare their schemes of inoculation, afterwards tried with a good deal of success. Sixty per cent. of the Cape Colony cattle were saved, and the balance, as well as sheep, rose enormously in price. Farmers made large profits consequently, but nevertheless, although £1,000,000 of the taxpayers' money had been spent, a tax of twopence per lb. on imported meat was not even temporarily taken off, until tardily, and under great pressure, this was done by an Act passed in the second session of 1898.

* This Bill was withdrawn by the Schreiner Ministry, in the second session of 1898—no doubt to be introduced, perhaps in an altered form, in 1899.

† Against the Bill (11): Messrs. Faure, Van Eeden, Haasforth, Ross, Botha, Van der Heever, Van Rhyn, Bailey, Lochner, Hugo, and Neethling. For the Bill: Messrs. Wilmot, Peacock, Bellingham, Dolley, De Villiers, Herholdt, Bradfield, Stockenstrom, and Wienand (9).

legislation was effected in favour of a vast improvement in street locomotion, which has caused a revolution in this respect both in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, by the introduction of electric tramways. One of the acts of the House of Assembly, in 1896, was to give Mr. Rhodes leave of absence as member for Barkly West.

The Legislative Council had, of course, to pay attention to the Raid, and there the Bond claimed a decided majority. Mr. Botha carried a motion declaring that the Charter granted to the British South Africa Company ought to be so altered as to prevent the Company from being a source of danger to the peace and prosperity of South Africa. The honourable mover possessed fully the courage of his opinions, and attempted to out-Herod Herod, by declaring that the motion of Mr. Schreiner in the other place was too mildly worded. He said that the sins of the Chartered Company were of the most aggravated and horrible description, and Sir Henry Loch had failed to do his duty by never expressing his disapproval of the contempt with which the Transvaal flag was treated. "Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Hofmeyr told Mr. Botha that each possessed unlimited confidence in each other, and Afrikanders had supported them, but nevertheless not a single Afrikaner of Dutch extraction knew about the plot."

In bringing up the Report of a Select Committee on Education, which recommended extension and increased efficiency so far as the poor and neglected were concerned, Mr. Wilmot said that, in a group of nine divisions, including 11,258 children of school age, only 6794 attended school, leaving in these

districts alone no fewer than 4464 children growing up in barbaric ignorance. Education cost the taxpayers the sum of £172,000 yearly. The pupils numbered only 77,000, and each one of them cost the State £2 4s. 6d. per annum. Poor and mission schools were starved, and very disproportionate sums spent on cheapening the education of the children of people well able to pay for the instruction of their families. In this session a Bill introduced by Mr. Wilmot for the establishment of Inebriate Homes, as in England,* became law. Unfortunately it was not possible to carry the sensible American rule, providing that dipsomaniacs can be brought before magistrates, and, on adequate evidence, committed to "homes"—so as to provide for their cure and reformation.

It was at the end of the session of 1896 that two men who had done much to make the machinery of Parliamentary Government work smoothly in the Cape Colony were placed upon retiring allowances of full pay. These were Mr. Fairbairn and Mr. Noble, respectively, Clerks of the Legislative Council, and of the House of Assembly.

In May, 1898, a man who very efficiently helped to mould and guard the action of legislative machinery in the Cape Colony passed away. The work of Mr. James A. Fairbairn was very unobtrusive, but not the less important, during the long period of thirty-five years, during which he held the office of Clerk to the Legislative Council, or, rather, "Clerk of Parliaments" of the Cape Colony. He was the son of Mr. John Fairbairn, who, with the poet Pringle,

* The dipsomaniac must himself agree to enter for at least six months, and then cannot leave before the expiry of the time agreed on.

undauntedly and successfully fought the battle of the freedom of the Press. Born in Cape Town in 1835, Mr. Fairbairn, Junior, was sent to Europe, and educated for the legal profession, which, on his return, he abandoned for work on the *Commercial Advertiser*, which his father then edited. In 1857 he was appointed Clerk to Mr. Justice Watermeyer; in 1858 became Secretary to a Parliamentary Committee; and, in 1861, accepted the position of Clerk to the Legislative Council. The office, strictly speaking, is that of Clerk of Parliaments, for, under the Constitution Ordinance of the Colony, the Clerk of the Legislative Council is specially entrusted with the discharge of all those high offices which are performed by the Clerk of Parliaments in the Mother Country. On his retirement on full salary, the House, which he had served so long and faithfully, unanimously passed a resolution, in which it "learns with extreme regret that the Clerk who has served the Council, with distinction, for so many years, intends to resign his position, and refers the matter to the Finance Committee to make the necessary arrangements for his pension." It ought to be added that Mr. Fairbairn was instrumental in establishing an Art Gallery in Cape Town.

Mr. John Noble, C.M.G., for thirty-two years continuously Clerk of the House of Assembly, died in Europe on the 21st of June, 1898. In his letter to the Speaker, dated a little more than a year before, he stated that seriously impaired health required change and complete rest. He served in seven Parliaments, under three Speakers, and witnessed many changes in the political circumstances of the country. He

intimately knew a long array of men whose names are familiar as household words—William Porter, Saul Solomon, Christoffel Brand, Molteno, Southey, Watermeyer, Paterson, Cawood, Godlonton, Reitz, George Wood, Miller, Christie, Fairbridge, Wicht, Bowker, and many others, down to the prominent men of the present time. One member only who sat in the House when Mr. Noble was appointed remained in it at his resignation, and this was Mr. John Edwin Wood, member for Grahamstown. Mr. Noble belonged to the pre-responsible Government time, and remembered well all the shibboleths of party, from “Separation,” and “Railway *versus* ox-waggon,” down to the times of the Bond and the League. Mr. Noble’s official career covered a long period, in which “Drive the road and bridge the ford” was a motto. Telegraphs, railways, harbour works were undertaken on a scale which never could have been dreamt of, but for the immense stimulus to prosperity occasioned by great mineral developments. His official career included also the annexation of Kaffraria, the Transkeian territories, Griqualand West, Bechuanaland, and Pondoland. The country which he served in the sixties comprised but a fraction of the territory which Parliament legislated for in the year of his resignation.

Sir Christoffel Brand, who retired from the chair in 1874, highly eulogized the services of Mr. Noble. Sir David Tennant did not fail to speak in the same strain. A Committee of the Assembly desired to record their sense of “the long, faithful, and valuable service he has rendered to the Cape Parliament;” and the speeches which followed in the House,

eloquently and cordially endorsed this sentiment. Mr. Noble and Mr. Fairbairn, of the Legislative Council, were two very important, although unobtrusive, factors in building up those rules and forms of procedure which form the necessary bulwarks and sources of strength of the Parliamentary edifice.

Mr. Noble was born in Scotland, came to the Cape when a very young man, and was connected with the *Commercial Advertiser* until, at the age of thirty-two, he received the appointment of Clerk of the House of Assembly. He was a studious, literary man, whose "Cape and its People," as well as his "Cape of Good Hope Hand-Book," were of great interest and value. He edited an excellent edition of Pringle's Poems, and frequently contributed to periodicals. He was known by every member of the Legislature to be a most trustworthy and kind adviser, as full of genial kindness as of knowledge. When he passed away, all classes and conditions of people who had known him felt that a kind and affectionate friend had gone before.

Another man passed away in 1898 who also served the public well during a long life. Sir Langham Dale, K.C.M.G., identified with the Cape Colony by being for many years Superintendent-General of Education, and latterly Chancellor of the University, died in January, 1898. He was born at Kingsclere, North Hants, on the 22nd of May, 1826, where his father, Henry Dale, was Clerk of the Sessions. Educated at a branch of Christ's Hospital at Hertford, to which he had received a nomination, he was, because of exceptional ability, sent up prematurely to the Upper School in London. He subsequently

worked his way to a presentation to the University of Oxford, where he became Thomson's Exhibitioner to Queen's College. Having obtained an introduction to Sir John Herschel, he was offered by him, in 1847, a Professorship in the South African College, Cape Town. Having graduated in honours in 1848, he left immediately for the Colony, and found rather a heterogeneous collection of lads, out of whom he formed a class for classical reading, consisting of six pupils. This was the day of small things, but Dale was soon successful in reorganizing the College, and when he left, in 1858, to take the post of Superintendent-General of Education, it was a popular and successful scholastic establishment. In the last-mentioned year the inquiries conducted by a Commission, of which Professor Dale was a member, led to the formation of a Board of Public Examiners in Literature and Science; and the Government availed itself of his services, during a visit to Europe in 1858 to 1859, to obtain a valuable Report on Educational systems. On this occasion the University of Glasgow conferred on Mr. Dale the honorary distinction of Doctor of Laws.

By degrees Dr. Dale built up a system of education to some extent based on Sir John Herschel's scheme. Undenominational schools in the principal towns were established, and certainly a large amount of public money was used to make education as cheap as possible for the children of wealthy and well-to-do people. It almost seems as if the radical defects of our educational plans have been comparative neglect of the poor, and not taking advantage, adequately, of denominational methods, under which,

on the pound-for-pound system, great economy combined with efficiency could be secured. However, Dr. Dale was wide-minded and energetic, while carrying out his general instructions ably and faithfully. It was at his suggestion that, in 1872, a Commission was appointed to consider the expediency of going up a few steps higher, so as to proceed from the Board of Examiners to the institution of an examining University. Subsequently he had the honour of conferring the degree of M.A. of the new Alma Mater upon Lord Carnarvon, and installing his lordship as its first Chancellor.

As a writer to periodicals, and a member of various public boards, specially including that of the South African Library, Dr. Dale proved himself a most useful citizen. In May, 1892, the time to part came, and in June of that year he published a farewell letter to the teachers of the public schools, in which he says, "I take the side path away from the battle of life. There is a happiness in the honest fulfilment of one's duty, and there is a duty fulfilled in adding to the sum of human happiness. . . . That my name may be remembered as of an old colleague and friend by the teachers, and of feelings of good will by those who have those many years used our schools, colleges, and university as stepping-stones to higher things, is my parting wish." The time to part from life came in January, 1898, when this amiable, experienced, and able educationist passed away "to where beyond these voices there is peace."

In a financial point of view South Africa was flourishing exceedingly in 1895 and 1896. Superabundant revenues enabled additional public works

to be undertaken, and chief among these were railways—subsidized lines extending from Somerset East *via* Cookhouse to King William's Town,* and from Mossel Bay to Oudtshoorn, were not only provided for, and the junction proceeded with to connect Graaff Reinet with the Midland Line at Middelburg Junction (Rosmead), but at last Oudtshoorn was successful in obtaining a railway to unite it with civilization and commerce at Klipplaat. At the same time a survey was ordered to discover whether or not it would be practicable to unite the fertile districts near Long Kloof with Port Elizabeth. The desire for railways seemed, like the desire of money, to increase with acquisition. No village was too small for a railway terminus, and every district suffering from the effect of rinderpest, which paralyzed ox-waggon transport, clamoured for the means of sending their produce to market. Indeed there was both abundant cause and reason for this movement. No road is so cheap as a light railway, and it is now proved in all parts of Europe that their effect upon farm production is extraordinarily beneficial. Natal even wished to stretch out a hand of fellowship, and unite her lines to those of the Cape Colony.†

* The subsidy for this line was only £1500 per mile, and there was only one tenderer, the Grand Junction Railway Company, which, in spite of its grandiloquent title, was a local association in which a few interested Members of Parliament, with Messrs. John Walker and Son, endeavoured, without adequate resources, to carry on the work. Eventually, the contract was transferred to the Thames Ironwork Company. A very stormy discussion took place on this subject in the Assembly during the second session of 1898. Poor Mossel Bay has been quite kept out in the cold, as its railway to Oudtshoorn *via* George remains unconstructed.

† The Indwe Railway is owned by a private company, and makes a junction with the Eastern Line at Sterkstroom. The Indwe coal is

As there is often a silver lining to a cloud, so frequently do clouds of adversity appear in a clear sky. Disease became prevalent in South Africa. Rinderpest slaughtered tens of thousands of cattle, and, among human beings, typhoid fever steadily went on, month after month, claiming its victims.

The loss of the Castle Company's steamer *Drummond Castle*, on its voyage from Cape Town to Southampton, which took place on the rocks off Ushant, during the night of the 16th of June, 1896, was one of those great disasters which thrilled the world at the time, and is ranked among the prominent events of the period. According to the finding of the Board of Trade, the captain was to blame for not having taken soundings and gone at a very slow speed. In a drizzling thick night, in the close neighbourhood of a very dangerous rocky coast, the captain on the bridge sees the lights of another steamer, comes to a wrong conclusion, and the vessel strikes with a shivering shock, and before boats can be lowered, or the slightest preparation made, the passengers and crew find themselves struggling in the rough and cold waters of the Bay of Biscay. Out of two hundred and fifty souls, only three were saved.*

excellent, and as a Railway Estate and Colliery Company the undertaking has proved markedly successful. A glance at the map will show that Indwe is well situated as a point of departure for a line from the Cape Colony to Natal. Of course there are other schemes advocated by interested communities.

* French fishermen from Ushant picked up the survivors, comprising a passenger (Mr. Marquard) and three of the crew. The kindness of the people and the admirable manner in which they provided for decent burial of the dead were recognized in England and South Africa. At this time a record number of passengers was travelling between South Africa and Europe. The R.M.S. *Norman* on one occasion carried 815 passengers.

The flattery of imitation followed the great success of the Afrikaner Bond. It was true that the Empire League had proved a failure, but the situation was becoming so grave as to necessitate very energetic action. The intelligent English farmers of the Eastern districts saw that, by means of combination, the real Government of the Colony was in the hands of Boer farmers; and excited feelings of loyalty, connected with events of the day, additionally forced upon them the necessity of action. Early in 1896 a meeting at Kei Road was called by Mr. A. J. Fuller, when thirteen farmers were present, and it was decided that a British Loyal Association should be formed. A public meeting was subsequently held on the 1st of February, when Mr. F. W. Landrey presided, and an organization was established, named the "Anglo-African League," taking for its principles the maintenance of loyalty to the British flag, the desirability of the confederation of all South African States, and the reform of the parliamentary methods of the Colony. Branches were soon established at Cathcart, and East London, while Dr. Darley Hartley, of the latter place, became the first President. There is something in a name, and, as a loyal and patriotic association should evidently desire the membership of people of Dutch extraction, the title of the Association was changed to that of the "South African League." Proceeding on a broad basis, a great accession of strength was gradually gained, until many thousands of members joined, and branches were established at Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstown, and many other places in the Cape Colony, as well as at

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Johannesburg. Fiscal policy is a troublesome subject ; for while, on one hand, dwellers in the towns desire cheap bread and meat, farmers are disposed to think that this result can only be obtained at a sacrifice of their interests. A compromise, however, was attained by the League when it resolved that the import duties on bread stuffs should be reduced by fifty per cent. A distinguished officer and experienced Parliamentarian, Colonel Brabant, became the second President of this Association, and its usefulness was soon displayed in registering votes, and directing electoral campaigns.

The Western districts still keep up a species of aloofness from the East, more understood than expressed. The ashes of the fires of "Separation" are still warm, and it only requires a strong political breeze to cause them once more to burst into flames. We cannot therefore be surprised that the people of English extraction in Cape Town, holding very similar views to those of their compatriots in the East, prefer the banner of a "South African Political Association" to that of the League. "Cheap food" is the largest plank in their platform, and great enthusiastic mass meetings are held, but all efforts have been hitherto like the waves of the sea breaking strongly, but unavailingly, upon the firmly fixed rock of the Bond. In vain do the people of the towns cry out that they pay three times as much for bread as is charged in London ; while brandy, whose sale causes enormous expense to the taxpayers, goes free. In vain do they ask that, after the taxpayer has spent more than a million pounds upon saving the herds of the farmer, and thus enabling him to make

a handsome profit out of rinderpest, there should be at least a temporary remission of the duty charged upon imported frozen meat.* Certainly the inhabitants of the towns of the Cape Colony consider that they are treated with injustice. They declare that food is heavily taxed, and that they are debarred from fair participation in the franchise. These are the sentiments which animate the breasts of members of the Political Association, whose President, Mr. Innes, possesses excellent intentions, sometimes marred by a somewhat scrupulous hesitance.

The session of the Cape Parliament for 1897 was opened on the 2nd of April—an unusually early date, fixed for the purpose of enabling the Premier to attend the Queen's Jubilee festivities in June. The *cheval de bataille* was again Transvaal politics, but of a very different phase to those hitherto brought forward. Mr. Stead's *Annual*, referring to the doings of Blastus, the Queen's Chamberlain, revealed to the world, as well as to Messrs. Merriman and Sauer, that, on occasion of the Drifts question, the Ministry, fully fortified by the opinion of their Attorney-General (Mr. Schreiner), entered into an agreement with the Secretary of State to go to war with the South African Republic if necessary. To Bondsmen, whose idea of blood being thicker than water makes them look with horror upon any war with their brethren, this charge appeared terribly serious. They soon saw, however, that there were difficulties connected with the fact that Mr. Schreiner

* The Bond Ministry brought in a Bill (second session, 1898), which has become law, giving the Government power to take off this duty temporarily, if the other parties to the Customs Convention consent.

have been certainly sacrificed if any other course had been taken but the one adopted. In his opinion, the President of the South African Republic had no power to issue the proclamation complained of, and, in doing so, acted *ultra vires* and contrary to the laws of his State. A breach of Section 13 of the London Convention was committed, and, although in favour of arbitration, Mr. Schreiner declared that, in the present instance, he took the only course which could be adopted by a loyal Colonial Statesman. Mr. Schreiner was too much a *persona grata* to be sacrificed, and the Government was victorious; but Mr. Sauer subsequently gave notice of a motion, which did not come on, declaring that no responsibilities of a similar character to that of "the Drifts" should obtain binding force and effect unless first submitted to Parliament.

On the 15th of April, 1897, an important motion was put forward by Mr. du Toit, in which it was stated to be the conviction of the House of Assembly that peace can only be obtained by the faithful and reciprocal observance of all obligations under treaties, conventions, and agreements; but an interpretation of such engagements should be obtained by means of arbitration. There ought to be a policy of moderation, mutual conciliation, and fairness. These were beautiful sentiments, but the opposite party felt convinced that they were somewhat those of Joseph Surface, and condemned them in similar language to that used in "The School for Scandal." Of course the gist of the motion was the arbitration proposal, and it was preposterous to imagine that Mr. Chamberlain would agree to that. Mr. Innes championed the Uitlanders by not only declaring that peace was to

be best attained by strict adherence to the terms of the Convention of London, but also by the consideration and redress of legitimate grievances. Sir Gordon Sprigg declared that, if Her Majesty's Government withdrew from the position she now occupied as the paramount Power in South Africa, the freedom and independence of the Transvaal Government would not be worth twelve months' purchase. Mr. Sauer advocated the cause of the Dutch Republic. The London Convention did not exist in its entirety. Indeed that Convention, which was signed in 1884, might, strictly speaking, be said not to exist at all. It seemed that we might break our agreements, and indeed that everybody had permission to violate conventions with the one exception of President Kruger, who must be held to his. Mr. Schreiner strongly advocated arbitration. It was looked upon apparently as something wicked or immoral, although Great Britain and America had arranged an admirable system. Uitlanders possessed grievances, but these were exaggerated, and interference by Imperial authorities was objectionable. Indeed, if such a course were adopted, it would be found totally inconsistent with the maintenance of the London Convention, because that agreement provided that the Transvaal was, for all purposes of internal Government, absolutely independent. What *locus standi* had they, or the British Government, to justify interference with grievances of Transvaal inhabitants? A dividing line had been drawn by the Raid, and until something was done to knit up the ravelled skein of peace it was hopeless to expect to restore good feeling in South Africa.

In the debate Mr. Jones presented a picture of Transvaal Uitlanders' grievances. He referred to large concessions to strangers; half a million per annum paid to people who never earned it; Netherlands Railways' exorbitant charges, gaining an enormous profit of £2,000,000 per annum; fines or imprisonments for slight offences, deprivation of political liberty, and no language allowed but Dutch. As the Bond ruled the House of Assembly, it was a foregone conclusion that a resolution on the side of the Transvaal and opposed to the Uitlanders would find favour. The motion was, however, somewhat modified by an amendment of Mr. Abrahamson's, agreed to by the Government, in which words were interpolated about being averse to the intervention of any foreign Power in any dispute with Her Majesty's Government.*

The gates of Rhodesia were now thrown open, and it was of the utmost consequence to the Cape Colony that it should be connected with Buluwayo by railway; but in spite of this conspicuous fact, a feeling of hatred to Mr. Rhodes so dominated the Bond party that, like the people commemorated in the "Iliad," each Dutchman was inclined to exclaim—

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

* To show the position of parties, the Division List is given. For the amendment motion, 41, viz :—Abrahamson, Dempers, De Villiers, D. C. de Waal, P. de Waal, D. R. de Wet, T. S. de Wet, A. J. du Plessis, J. P. du Plessis, Du Toit, Faure, Holtshansen, Immelman, Joubert, Klein, Krige, Le Roux, Luttig, D. J. Marais, J. S. Marais, Merriman, J. T. Molteno, Olivier, Rautenbach, Sauer, Schreiner, Sivewright, Smith, Sonnenberg, Sprigg, Te Water, Upington, Van der Vyver, Van der Walt, Van Heerden, Van Wyk, Van Zyl, Weeber, Wege, and Wolfaardt; Vanes and Abrahamson, *Tellers*. Against, 32 : Beard, Berry, Brabant, Brown, Crosbie, Douglass, Frost, Fuller, Hutton, Innes, Jones, Laing, Lawrence, Logan, J. C. Molteno, Norton, Pearson, Rhodes, Robertson, Ryan, Schermbrucker, Smartt, Smuts, Solomon, Tamplin, Thompson, Warren, Weil, Wiener, and Wood; Palmer and Haarhoff, *Tellers*.

The Rhodesian Government offered great gifts, including free trade and railway communication. Sir James Sivewright, as Commissioner for Public Works, moved for the approval of an agreement, dated 28th of May, 1897, providing for working the line from Vryburg to Buluwayo, under a guarantee against any deficiency. The Cape Colony was to receive every farthing paid by it for working expenses, and, while no loss could possibly accrue under this agreement, enormous advantages would be gained, including increased railway revenue and opening up of trade and commerce with a new country. Nevertheless there was hypercriticism. Both Messrs. Schreiner and Merriman wished to send the subject to a Select Committee,* and an attempt of a similar character was even tried in the Legislative Council. Good sense, founded on a knowledge of their own interests, prevailed, and the agreement was ratified in both Houses.

The Acts of the session of 1897 comprised "Bechuanaland Native Reserves," and "Pondoland Laws Bill," as well as an important measure for securing public health, rendered additionally necessary by the alarming prevalence of typhoid fever† throughout South Africa. The Pondoland Bill was

* Ayes, 41; Noes, 21. In the minority voting for a Select Committee were Beard, Berry, P. de Waal, D. N. de Wet, P. J. de Wet, A. S. du Plessis, Hay, Jones, J. S. Marais, Merriman, J. C. Molteno, Olivier, Sauer, Schreiner, Van der Vyver, Van der Walt, Van Heerden, Van Wyk, Van Zyl; J. T. Molteno and Holthausen, *Tellers*.

† A very important departure in connection with sanitary reform was effected by passing the Wynberg Drainage Bill in the second session of 1898. This Act provides for one of the most efficient and least expensive systems of treating sewage yet discovered, which has proved highly successful in England, and is now under consideration by a Royal Commission.

an extraordinary measure, providing really for extraordinary circumstances, but in doing so it abolished a fundamental safeguard of liberty by allowing persons to be apprehended and kept in prison without being brought to trial. In consequence of a healthy Exchequer, various concessions were made by taxes being either taken off or considerably reduced on various articles of imported food, such as rice, coffee, tea, bacon, and dates. This was only a sop to the Cerberus of the "working man," who had been particularly and rightly clamorous for a change in that evil fiscal policy which made the necessities of life dear, and allowed one of its most pernicious and expensive luxuries to go free. Of course an Excise was really not comprised in the range of practical politics so long as the Bond ruled, but where imported luxuries were concerned there was no opposition, and consequently the import duty on foreign spirits was raised to fifteen shillings per gallon.

The Budget speech presented our financial position in roseate hues. Exports exclusive of specie had risen in value to £16,952,000, and imports to £16,943,000, or 22 per cent. more than in the preceding year. The export of wool had increased in value by £179,000—thus forming an argument in favour of the Scab Act. The Savings Bank deposits in the Cape Colony amounted to £840,000 in the year 1895, and to £1,000,000 in 1896; while the net earnings of railways now amounted to £8 19s. 7d. per cent. as compared with £7 9s. 10d. per cent. in the preceding year. The actual surplus of revenue over expenditure was £1,331,000, and this not only permitted the reduction of taxation

already indicated, and the construction of public works, but furnished the Government with funds to fight rinderpest. For this purpose £500,000 was at first considered adequate, but before the combat was finished more than £1,000,000 had to be spent. The battle was certainly not lost by the Colony, as the destruction of cattle only amounted to forty per cent., whereas it was much greater in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Indeed, if the Transkeian territories were excluded, probably 25 per cent. would quite cover the damage in the Cape Colony.

1897 being the great Jubilee year of Queen Victoria, the South African Colonies were determined to show their loyalty. £25,000 was voted in the Cape Colony as a pound-for-pound contribution towards the erection of hospitals commemorative of one of the greatest reigns the world has ever known. Sir Gordon Sprigg, as an invited Prime Minister, desired to be present in London, and the session was purposely called a month before the usual time, to give him the opportunity. The Opposition naturally wished that the Colony should be represented on such a great occasion by one of their own number, and it was only the casting vote of the Speaker which prevented them having their way. This occurred on the vote of want of confidence proposed by Mr. Merriman, where an indictment crudely drawn, and arguments rather crudely expressed, were considerably embarrassed by the necessity of not alienating Mr. Schreiner, one of the principal offenders in the condemned "Drifts" transactions. There were thirty-six votes on each side, and Sir H. H. Juta only acted according to precedent when he declared, as Speaker,

Dalgetty. Eventually two hundred Vryburg Volunteers, under Captain Fuller, drove the rebels out, and Luka's village was burned. The enemy then retired to a strong position. Our forces were without water; insubordinate Burghers did as they pleased, and marched homeward; while a certain Papkuil contingent was dismissed as mere rabble. The forces were now increased to two thousand in number, and the expenditure rose to £1600 per diem. At last, on the 24th of July, Colonel Dalgetty possessed an adequate force, and determined to attack in four columns. Galishwe's Kloof was occupied, without opposition, and the troops then advanced on Luka Jantje's position at Gamasip. This last-mentioned chief held his ground bravely, and was shot by Captain Smythe of the Kaffrarian Rifles. An advance was then made, over the ridges, on Toto's stronghold, and this rebel, on the eve of an attack, surrendered with all his people. The war lasted a hundred and thirty-two days,* and was followed by large numbers of prisoners being sent to be fed and employed by farmers of the Western Province of the Cape Colony, who were very much in want of labour.

In the Cape Legislative Council session of 1897 a motion, suggested by the Bond party, similarly worded to that brought forward in the Assembly, affirming that the best interests of South Africa demanded the preservation of peace, was proposed by

* Galishwe, who was wounded in the leg, became a fugitive, but was at last captured in the Kalihari, and afterwards tried and punished. Several Geluk Burghers were charged with shooting "friendlies." On the occasion of their trial, the Judge President of the High Court in Kimberley summed up against them very strongly, but they were nevertheless acquitted by the Jury. In many cases a trial by jury is a farce.

Mr. van Rhyn. As an amendment, Mr. Wilmot moved that the best way to preserve peace was by strict observance of the Convention, by the consideration and redress of grievances on the part of the South African Republic, as well as by a policy of wisdom and moderation on the part of Her Majesty's Government. "Blood is thicker than water:" on the one side, people of Dutch extraction felt in sympathy with the Transvaal; on the other side, those who were kin to the Uitlanders sympathized with them. The Raid, like a great stone falling from a height into a lake, caused at first considerable commotion, concentric rings appeared, and some time elapsed before the disturbance subsided; time, however, is always, on such occasions, on the side of lovers of peace. The last amendment, which was moved by Mr. de Villiers, was carried, and this consisted of a few platitudes declaring that peace was to be obtained by observance of obligations under treaties, conventions, and agreements. Means should be taken to obtain an amicable settlement of any difference in interpretation, while by the adoption of a policy of moderation, mutual conciliation, and fairness, the tranquillity of South Africa should be secured.*

One circumstance which, in the heated condition of the country, attracted considerable attention was the visit paid to the South African Republic by Sir Henry de Villiers, for the purpose of using his good offices in the dispute existing between the President and Chief Justice Kotze. In the Legislative Council

* For this amendment, *Contents*, 14: Messrs. Bellingan, Van Eeden, Haasforther, Herholdt, Graaff, Van Rhyn, Van Eeden, De Villiers, Neethling, Botha, Lochner, Bailey, Hugo, and Wienand. *Non-contents*, 7: Messrs. Bradfield, Dolley, Wilmot, Peacock, Faure, Ross, and Stockenstrom.

Mr. Wilmot stated that he would like to hear from His Honour what the constitutional duty was of a Chief Justice or Lieut.-Governor in such a case as that of visiting a foreign country. Could he divest himself temporarily of his office? The Chief Justice was, besides, a Privy Councillor. He replied that the answer to the question must depend upon the circumstances of the case. No dangerous precedent had been set by him, and he mediated neither as President nor as Chief Justice. He could not by his act prejudice Government, Bench, or Legislature; and it was fair to judge him by his own acts and words—not by the writings of others. No doubt the object in view was good in the opinion of Sir Henry de Villiers, but in the then excited state of public opinion many people regretted the course taken. It certainly does not seem to have been successful, as Chief Justice Kotze would not obey, and was consequently dismissed. The question between the Transvaal Government and Mr. Kotze has already been referred to. The former naturally upheld, sternly and strictly, the supreme power of the Volksraad to require the Bench to administer the law, and any appeal to the British Imperial authorities on that subject was necessarily in vain.

One of the lamentable deeds of the Legislative Council was to throw out again the Innes Bill.* This was done by a Bond majority, who, parodying the Latin motto, "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum*,"

* The motion that the Bill be read a second time that day six months was carried. *Contents*, 11: Messrs. Faure, Van Eeden, Haasforth, Ross, Botha, Van der Heever, Van Rhyn, Bailey, Lochner, Hugo, and Neethling. *Non-contents*, 9: Messrs. Peacock, Bellingham, Wilmot, Dolley, De Villiers, Herholdt, Bradfield, Stockenstrom, and Wienand.

declared practically that Brandy must be king, even if the labour of the country be destroyed, and the natives entirely demoralized and ruined. No doubt restriction of the sale to the aborigines meant diminution in receipts and profits, and so in this case it was considered expedient to prefer "Mammon" to God.

A Commission was appointed in December, 1897, to report upon the practicability of securing a better representation of the people of the Colony in the House of Assembly.* The majority, consisting of Messrs. Theron, Van der Walt, Du Plessis, and Douglass, reported in favour of fifteen members being added; whereas the minority, comprising Sir Gordon Sprigg, Mr. Innes, and Mr. Fuller, considered that an increase of eighteen members would give better practical expression to the true principles of Parliamentary representation. The Bond, as well as the House of Assembly, had declared itself in favour of redistribution; and certain glaring injustices existed, such as the Cape Division with 8122 voters, and Port Elizabeth with 6560 voters, each only returning two members, while the same number of representatives was accorded to 782 voters in Victoria East, to 1416 voters in Fort Beaufort, and to 1481 voters in Piquetberg.

On the second reading of the Parliamentary Representation Bill Sir Gordon Sprigg declared that he regarded this measure as being of greater importance than any other introduced since the advent of Responsible Government in 1872. In that year Cape

* The Commission consisted of Sir Gordon Sprigg, and Messrs. Innes, T. E. Fuller, Douglass, Theron, Van der Walt, and Du Plessis.

Town possessed 4000 voters, and they were assigned four members, while now the number of voters had increased to 8000, but the number of their representatives was the same. In the Cape Division there were 1600 voters in 1872, and now there were over 8000, but still only two members. In George, the constituency in 1872 was 938, to-day it was 3519. In Victoria West the electorate was just under 800 ; to-day it was over 3000. In Port Elizabeth it was 3000, now it exceeded 6500. The Prime Minister made out an irrefragable case in favour of redistribution, but indeed that was scarcely necessary, as it was admitted by the Bond party that, after the lapse of nearly half a century, reformation should not be delayed. Upon what lines this change was to be effected remained the crux of the position—the Bond desiring that the country party should suffer no loss, while the Progressives earnestly demanded fair play for the towns.

Mr. Douglass, one of the members of the Commission, was afraid that the Ports would become too strong, and act together. Cape Town, he feared, would become absolutely dominant in the Colony. He was not going to sacrifice his country because he was afraid of voting with Bondsmen when he was sure that they were right. Dr. Te Water declared that he had resigned his office of Colonial Secretary because he felt that it was impossible, when political feeling was running high, to introduce a Redistribution Bill. Mr. Sauer thought that they should deal with the question quite apart from considerations of race, did not see any great necessity for the measure, and believed that a Bill for redistribution should only be

brought in by a strong ministry. The present proposal was really not based upon the report of the Commission, and was open to exception in many respects. Each member in Victoria (Australia) represented 12,000 people, whilst each member in Melbourne represented 41,000. The average representation for the whole of New South Wales was one member to 10,941 of the population; in Sydney it was one to 37,000. Cape Town and the Cape Division if placed on that basis would not be entitled to additional representation. At present each member for Cape Town represented 1468 voters, while in the Cape Division each member represented 1440 electors. Compared with New South Wales, Victoria, and New Zealand, this Colony was from 100 to 150 per cent. over-represented by the present members, or, at any rate, by the members proposed to be given. Mr. Innes said that there would not have been the same strength in the agitation had it not been the fact that certain large centres of population felt themselves inadequately represented. In fiscal matters, on native questions, and in the ordinary policy of the country, everything was dominated by the country party, and the members of the towns keenly felt their impotence. There were two courses open—to redistribute on a proper basis all round, or simply select those centres of population whose grievances were the greatest. After careful deliberation the Commission decided unanimously to take the latter course, which he submitted was the only practical one. Dr. Berry took exception to Mr. Sauer's statistics, as the Colonies he had quoted possessed manhood suffrage, and, in addition, there were a large number of plural votes. If this Colony

were put on the same basis as New Zealand they would have about 500,000 electors, and 180 members. Mr. Merriman was, as usual, very amusing, and declared that he had come to the conclusion that a Progressive was a man who kept a shop in St. George's Street. By-and-by his simple bucolic friends would be "left." When the Premier was rolling out his grandiloquent phrases, he (Mr. Merriman) seemed to catch a wink upon his austere countenance—the sort of wink that one augur would make to another when taking the auspices on some contested action. Putting local government on a sound basis, and the reformation of the Constitution of the Upper House, were much more important and necessary than any Redistribution Bill. It might be necessary for them to tamper with the foundations of their constitution. Let them take heed that they did not make them rotten, and that they did not erect the temple of Mammon in the temple of their constitution. It was because he dreaded those things, because he felt it impossible to see the sources of their political life tainted, because he knew that, if once tainted, it might be years before it would recover, that he should give his determined opposition to a measure which was fraught with evil to the best interests of South Africa. In this debate Mr. Schreiner took occasion to declare that Mr. Rhodes kept racial feeling alive. At the conclusion of a very warm and protracted discussion the second reading was carried by the respectable majority of seven.*

* The Voting was—for second reading, 42; against, 35. *Ayes* were: Messrs. Abrahamson, Beard, Berry, Brabant, Brown, Crosbie, De Villiers, Douglass, Faure, Frost, Fuller, Hutton, Hay, Harris, Innes, Jones, Laing,


On the 14th of June, 1898, Mr. Schreiner moved "that the Government does not possess the confidence of this House," and, in doing so, declared that in 1897 a similar motion was only defeated by the casting vote of the Speaker. Government divorced from any definite line of action, and confessed by the mouths of Ministers to be one that simply counted the number of votes, and was quite prepared to move in any direction, was not worthy of being styled "responsible." The Ministry was weighed in the balance and found wanting. They looked for grapes, and found only wild grapes. As regards external affairs, they were forced to complain about the relations between this Colony and the Mother Country. Had it not been for the efforts of private members, the session of 1896 would have found the House like a rudderless ship, drifting around, while the Government sat silent and neglectful, yet complacent. The Government organized and originated nothing. In 1897 there was again blythe complacency when South Africa was really threatened with an internecine conflict. When the Government was asked what communications had passed between the Prime Minister and Her Majesty's Government with regard to South African affairs, they were only told that there were verbal communications. Lord Rosmead

Lawrence, J. C. Molteno, Norton, Olivier, Palmer, Rautenbach, Rhodes, Robertson, Ryan, Schermbucker, Sivewright, Smartt, Smuts, Solomon, Sprigg, Tamplin, Thompson, Upington, Vanes, Warren, Weil, Wiener, and Wood; Louw and Haarhoff, *Tellers*. *Noes*, 35: Messrs. Dempers, D. C. de Waal, P. de Waal, P. de Wet, P. J. du Plessis, Holtshausen, Immelmann, Joubert, Kleyn, Krige, Le Roex, Luttig, J. S. Marais, D. J. Marais, Merriman, J. T. Molteno, Rabie, Sauer, Schreiner, Smith, Te Water, Theron, Van der Vyver, Van der Walt, H. C. van Heerden, J. P. van der Heerden, Van Wyk, Van Zyl, Venter, Weeber, Wege, and Woffaardt; *Tellers*, Sonnenberg and Du Toit.

had not received the appreciation he deserved, and the attitude of the Government on the peace resolutions was that of meaningless vacillation. There was no real leadership, and by the narrowest margin possible the Prime Minister was kept in office. He was allowed to go to England, as they did not wish to interfere with the representation of the Colony. Mr. Schreiner animadverted on a letter from Sir Gordon Sprigg to Mr. Chamberlain, and, with regard to the South African Republic, complained that there had not been any of that sympathy or conciliatory approach which tended to maintain and cement those cordial relations which they hoped would soon prevail. The conduct of the Langeberg campaign was unsatisfactory, as in the first instance one or two persons should have been arrested, and, if this had been done, there would have been no war; while the incapacity of Government was further shown by sending up an army of volunteers who kept idly kicking their heels about. So far as rinderpest was concerned, the attitude of the Government was merely drift, drift, drift. As regards railways, there was too much lavish expenditure. He charged the Commissioner with acting in an unconstitutional and high-handed manner in forcing through the railway agreement with the north. The speech concluded with an appeal to Mr. Innes, in which, amidst much flattery, he invited him to vote against his party, and in favour of the motion of non-confidence.

Sir James Sivewright replied at considerable length. He believed that a great deal of the stubbornness and obstinacy which characterized the conduct of the Transvaal Government was due to the

fact that they believed they had the Afrikander people in the Colony with them. He defended the Government in connection with railway policy and management, rinderpest, and the Langeberg war; and concluded by declaring that the majority of the people in the Colony would undoubtedly maintain that the better representation of the people in Parliament was an urgent necessity, and that the question ought to be discussed on its own merits, and not thrown out by a side wind. Mr. Merriman severely blamed the Government for really doing nothing—ever promising, but never performing; and, in detail, proceeded to find fault. A Government that could mismanage the Langeberg campaign, squander the public moneys, and run the people into any expenditure, was not the Government to be entrusted with the administration one day longer. Mr. Innes spoke strongly in favour of a contribution to the Navy, and would certainly vote for the Redistribution Bill. He remarked that the position of a moderate man, especially if he were a Progressive, was becoming almost intolerable. Those who refused to go into one or other of the two camps, the camp of Mr. Rhodes, or of Mr. Hofmeyr, were regarded with suspicion. It seemed that they were between the hammer of the Jingo and the anvil of the Bond. It was not a pleasant position, and might end in political annihilation. Mr. Laing called very special attention to the conduct of Dr. Te Water, recently one of the Ministry, now doing all in his power to obtain a vote of censure on that very Cabinet whose actions and policy he recently strongly approved of and supported. Possibly the most interesting and



peculiar feature of the controversy was the defection of four members, styled "Mugwumps" by their political opponents, who, although returned by constituencies who opposed the Bond, now voted in its favour. These members were Messrs. Wiener and Beard (Cape Town), Mr. Solomon (Kimberley), and Mr. Hay (Victoria East). By means of their defection the non-confidence vote was carried by forty-one votes to thirty-six.* Two results followed—the question of the better representation of the people in Parliament was postponed, and the Government appealed to the country.

A new Legislative Council was elected in March, 1898, in which the Progressives possessed a certain majority of one, in a House of twenty-three members, but the House of Assembly was moribund, as by effluxion of time it would cease to exist at the end of the year 1898. There was the less hesitation, therefore, in dissolving it, and asking for a vote on account. One million pounds was granted; and while the Upper House remained, the Lower Chamber was defunct, and no time was lost in proceeding to elect new members. Then came a tug of war which resulted, after a terrible fight, in a majority of one

* The following is the Division List. *Ayes*, 41: Beard, D. C. de Waal, P. de Waal, D. N. de Wet, P. J. de Wet, Du Plessis, Du Toit, Hay, Holthausen, Immelmann, Joubert, Kleyn, Krige, Le Roex, Luttig, J. S. Marais, D. J. Marais, Merriman, J. C. Molteno, Rabie, Raubenbach, Sauer, Schreiner, Smith, Solomon, Sonnenberg, Te Water, Theron, Van der Vyver, Van der Walt, H. C. van Heerden, J. P. van Heerden, Van Wyk, Van Zyl, Venter, Wege, Weeber, Wiener, Wolfaardt; J. T. Molteno and Dempers. *Tellers*. *Noes*, 36: Abrahamson, Berry, Brabant, Brown, Crosbie, De Villiers, Douglass, Faure, Frost, Fuller, Haarhoff, Harris, Hutton, Innes, Jones, Laing, Lawrence, Louw, Norton, Olivier, Rhodes, Robertson, Ryan, Schermbrucker, Sivewright, Smartt, Smuts, Sprigg, Tamplin, Upington, Vanes, Warren, Weil, Wood; Thompson and Palmer, *Tellers*.

for the Bond in a House of seventy-nine members, converted into two by the Progressives providing a Speaker in the person of Dr. Berry, member for Queenstown.

The end came immediately in the form of the third edition of the vote of censure, first defeated in 1897 by the casting vote of the Speaker, Sir. H. H. Juta, and, on the second occasion, carried in June, 1898, by a respectable majority. The division list on this last and crowning occasion showed that thirty-nine members had lost confidence in the Sprigg Government, while thirty-seven voted its favour.* The position was carried by the defection of the four "Mugwumps," who first voted for the Redistribution Bill, and then prevented the possibility of its being carried by turning out the Ministry which introduced the measure.

As the laws of perspective should govern history as well as painting, it is impossible at present to go into detail with reference to the political battles of 1898—raging fiercely at the moment when these words are written. The decline of the Bond has been already recorded—its fall will yet have to be described. Certainly it is a significant fact that, out

* The division list was as follows:—*Ayes*, 39: Beyers, Botha, De Waal, N. P. de Waal, De Wet, Du Plessis, A. S. du Plessis, M. J. du Toit, Graaff, Hoffman, Immelmann, Joubert, J. Joubert, J. P. W. Krige, Kuhn, Marais, D. J. Marais, J. S. Merriman, Molteno, Oosthuizen, Rabie, Raubenheimer, Sauer, Schœman, Schreiner, Smith, Smuts, J. A. Searle, Theron, Van der Merwe, Van der Vyver, Van der Walt, Van Heerden, Van Wyk, Van Zyl, Weeber, Wolfaardt; *Tellers*, Te Water and Dempers. *Noes*, 37: Anderson, Brabant, Brown, Crosbie, Douglass, Fincham, Frost, Fuller, T. E. Fuller, A. J. Garrett, Haarhoff, Harris, Dr. Harris, D. Hill, Hockley, Innes, Laing, Lee, Oats, Olivier, Rhodes, Sampson, Schermbrucker, Sivewright, Smuts, C. P. Sprigg, Stead, St. Leger, Tamplin, Walton, Warren, Weil, Wood, Wynne, Zietsman; *Tellers*, Lawrence and Vanes.

of 108,000 votes in the Cape Colony, no fewer than 50,000 are said to have declared at the polls for Mr. Rhodes and the Progressive party, while only 36,000 voted for the Bond. The real remedy for this injustice was of course a fair Redistribution Bill, giving the towns and the country just shares of representation. The demand for this was the principal plank of the Opposition platform, but the New Ministry* desired to postpone the preparation of such a measure until 1899. This they were not allowed to do.

The defection from their ranks of Mr. David de Waal, member in the Assembly for Piquetberg, who may have loved the Bond much, but loved the railway interests of his division more, turned the nearly balanced scale, and forced the Ministry to bring in a Redistribution Bill based to a large extent upon the Majority Report of the Commission. This measure was the result of a compromise effected by means of a conference of delegates from both parties, and provides sixteen additional members to the House of Assembly. Capetown, the Cape Division, Port Elizabeth, George, Griqualand East, Tembuland, and Worcester receive additional members, and new electoral divisions are constituted in Cathcart, Humansdorp, Middelburg, Prieska, Simonstown, Jansenville, Woodstock, and Wynberg.

The new Bond Administration was compelled to be careful, as they possessed a very small majority in the Assembly, and were really in a minority in the

* The 1898 Bond or Afrikaner Ministry consists of Mr. Schreiner, C.M.G., Premier and Colonial Secretary; Mr. J. X. Merriman, Treasurer; Mr. Richard Solomon, who has no seat in Parliament, Attorney-General; Mr. Herholdt, M.L.C., Secretary for Agriculture; Mr. Sauer, Commissioner of Public Works; and Dr. Te Water, Minister without a portfolio.

Legislative Council. The threat of the latter Chamber not to pass the Estimates unless a Redistribution Bill were introduced, was probably, with Mr. de Waal's action, the means of compelling the Ministry, against the previously strongly expressed opinion of the Premier, to yield to the inevitable. The Schreiner Cabinet adopted the Railway scheme * of the previous Ministry, and its members thus saved their political lives. The existence of this new Administration hinges upon the success of the political struggle connected with numerous election petition cases to be heard in the Supreme Court, and upon the result of the voting in 1899, when there will be a fierce struggle for the new seats provided for by the Redistribution Bill.

In the last quarter of the century which is about to close, among the most interesting political subjects have been the growth of the Bond, and its triumphs, coupled with the Raid cataclysm, the disruption of Mr. Rhodes from the Hofmeyr party, and the sequences of this last and most important departure.

History is now being made while these last lines of a last volume are being penned, but it is hoped that in a new Edition important pages will yet be added to this work.

* A leading feature in this scheme is a two-foot (narrow gauge) line of railway from Port Elizabeth to Lang Kloof. Besides, there is a railway to Caledon, and one to Piquetberg (grain country).

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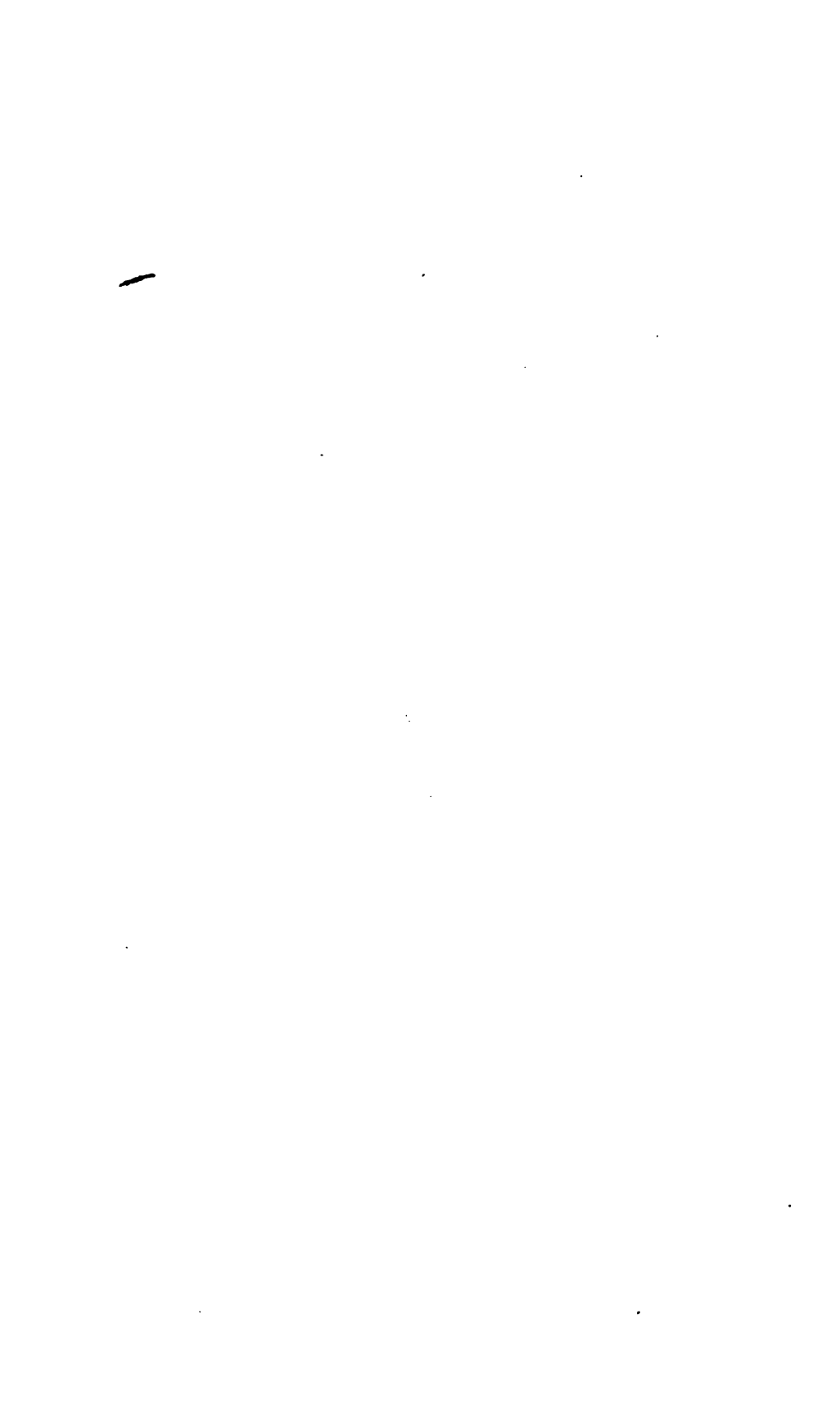
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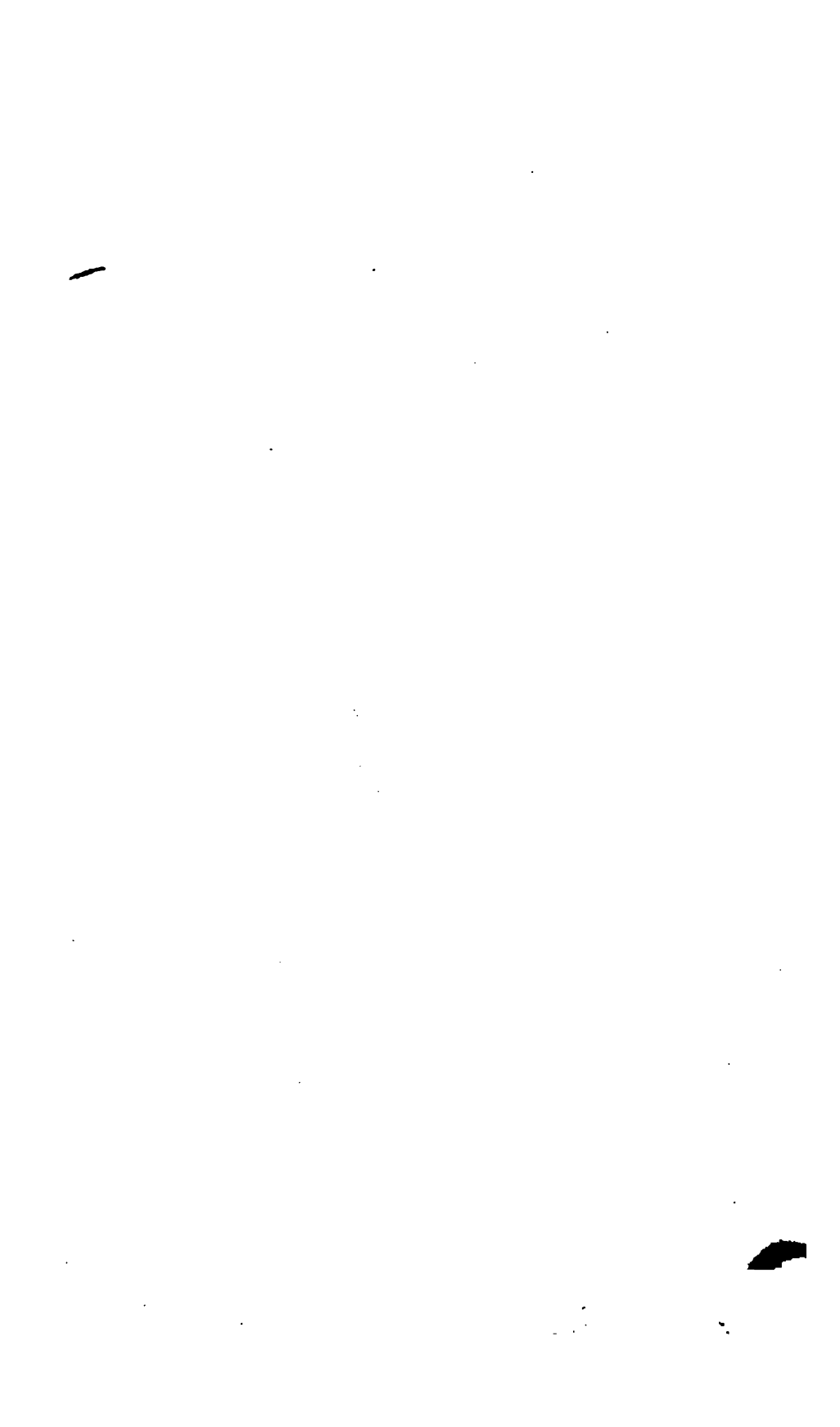
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